

THE IMPERIAL CITY OF VIJAYANAGARA IN THE DEPICTIONS OF EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS

**A thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the award of**

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN HISTORY**

By

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled **“The Imperial City of Vijayanagara in the depictions of European Travellers”** submitted by **P. Jayaraju** bearing the registration number 03SHPH02 in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of **Doctor of Philosophy** in History, is a bonafide work carried out by him under my supervision and guidance, which is a plagiarism free thesis.

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DECLARATION

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IMAGE-1

VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE AND NEIGHOURING CIRCA 1350 CE

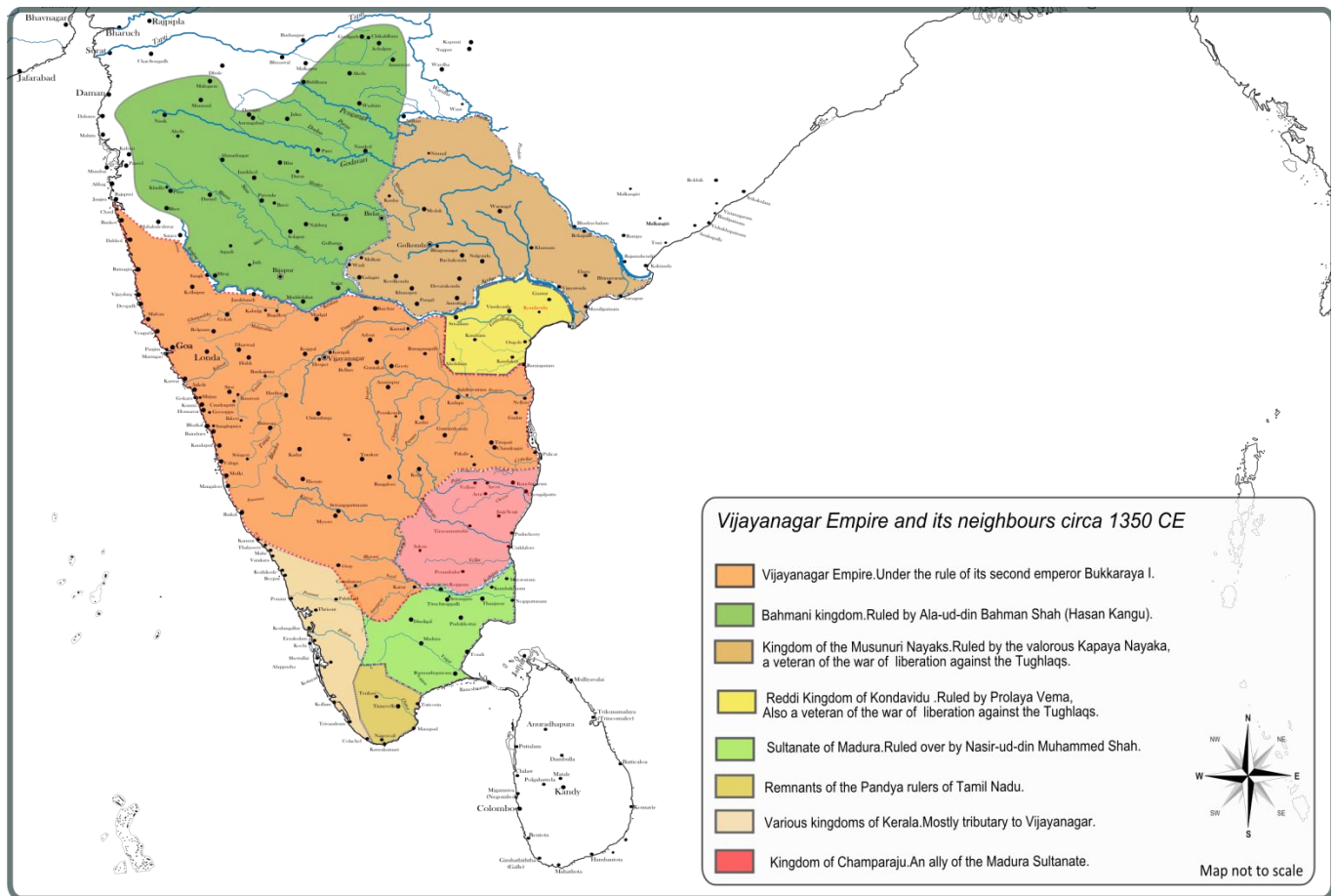
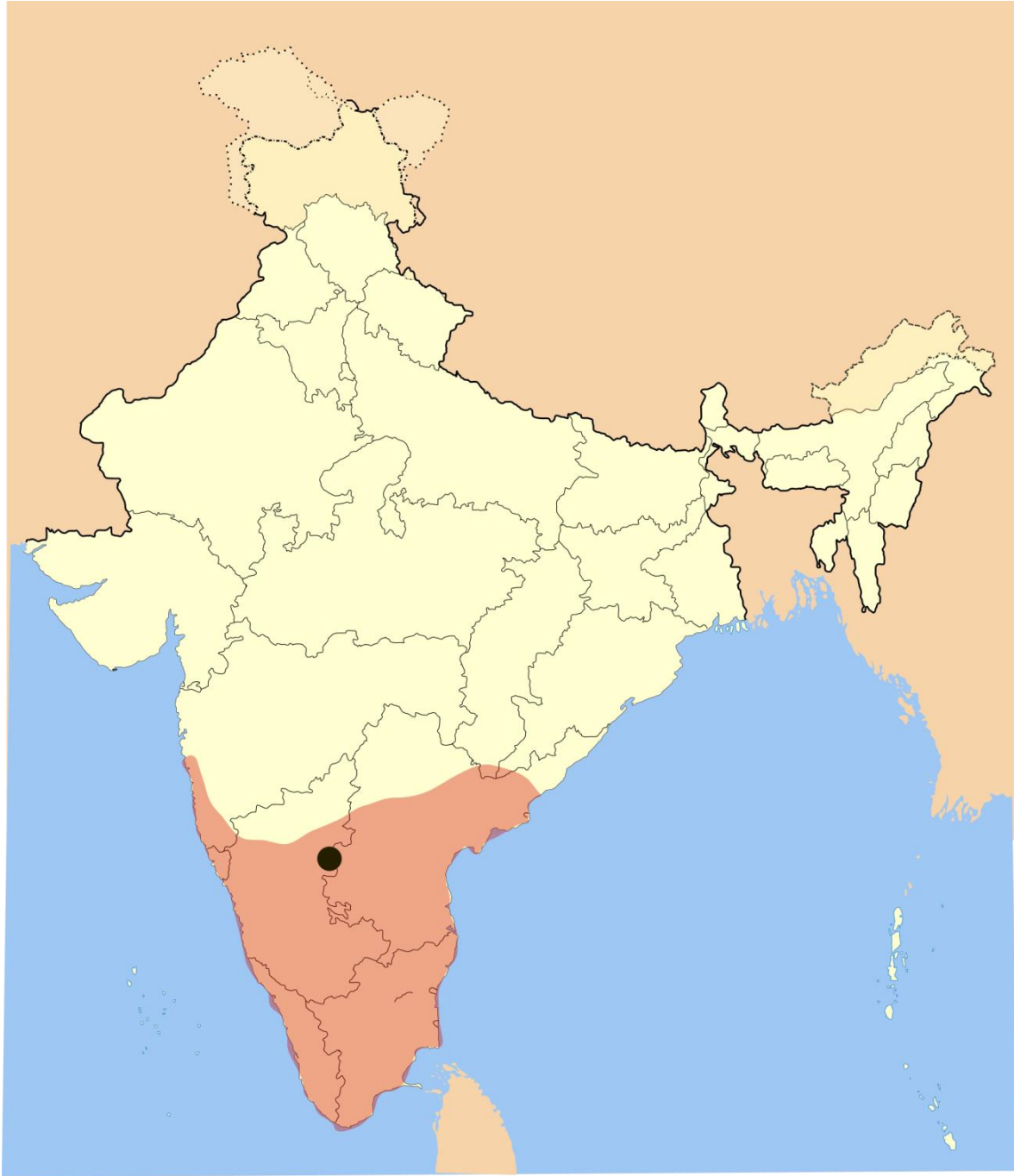


IMAGE 2 VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE EXTENT ON CURRENT MAPPING



CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

Introduction:

In this chapter an analysis of the important themes and trends that inform the study are attempted to present an overall view of the subject matter that is the imperial city of Vijayanagara and its representation by the European travellers. This, being the title of the thesis tries to understand how the representations by the Europeans came as travellers and also in other capacities formed a distinct variety of literature that has come to be known today as travel writings. While the problems of translation and the lack of accessibility prevented many of these writings from becoming a part of wide circulation they were not used as historical materials. This is not to say that travel literature was not used, but the point is that these writings particularly the writings of 16th century Portuguese writer Nuniz form the important reference point from which later writers extrapolated the idea of the Oriental city with specific reference to South India. It is in this context that European travel writings are good and important in the study particularly after the rise of Orientalism as a category of analysis in the social sciences and humanities. On the other hand, the rise of regions and the study of regional history though primarily conducted employing the indigenous literature also has certain problems of location and is embedded in a locus of regional formation whereas travel writing transcends such regions and provides the framework for comparative analysis since it has origins in Europe. Keeping all these aspects in mind, the idea of using travel writing as a primary source and a frame of reference through which the understanding of an important Empire is conditioned is the central focus of this thesis.

The key elements of the thesis are divided on the basis of themes and therefore are arranged in seven chapters divided on thematic considerations beginning with an introduction, the aims and objectives of the thesis along with the methods are outlined as also the rationale. One of the problems the historian faces is the problem of using a wide variety of sources, and this wide variety also leads to a secondary problem of managing the large amounts of data that sometimes seem to be disparate. E.H. Carr in his seminal work on What is history in the chapter on fact in history has always warned of the dangers of using a limited amount of data and how contradictory the sets of data may be produce distorted understandings. The advantage of writing a good history lies in the fact that more and more data is used so as to get a fair amount of generalisation which corresponds to various forms of representation. It is in this spirit that aspects related to urbanisation, the social process, the role of the city, patterns of trade and goods are studied here.

Vijaynagar Empire: A Brief Introduction

History is of devotees and their political powers of religious beliefs. The age-old Asiatic scene was first modified by the supreme powers driven by Mahmud Ghazni. Two centuries after the invasion of Mahmud Ghazni in 1001, the newly established Delhi sultanate intruded towards southern India. By 1330 the stronghold of North India over the Vindhya Mountains came under Turkish rulers and then started crippling the south. In 1325 Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq of Tughlaq dynasty came to power. His imperialistic approach as the crown ruler and the Sultanate decimated and wrecked the Hindu territories, i.e. the devastation of their matured royal quarters, the pulverization of their havens and the urban zones. There was a check to this surge of outside interruption, a stop and an end in the year 1344 A.D. After that a solid mass of opposition from the south began and for quite a while Deccan (southern India) was saved from assault. The check was caused by a continuous wave of resistance of Kakatiyas, Hoyasalas and the rulers of small territory of

Anegondi. The strong divider developed by Anegondi rose in the course of time into the considerable realm of the Vijayanagara.

Robert Sewell explains the geographical location of fortified Anegondi

“If a straight line is drawn on the map of India from Bombay to Madras, about half-way across will be found the River Tungabhadra, which itself a combination of two streams running northwards from Maisur, flows in a wide circuit north and east to join the Krishna not far from Kurnool. In the middle of its course the Tungabhadra cuts through a wild rocky country lying about forty miles north-west of Bellary, and north of the railway line which runs from that place to Dharwar. At this point, on the north bank of the river, there existed about the year 1330 a fortified town called Anegundi, the “Nagundym” of our chronicles, which was the residence of a family of chiefs owning a small state in the neighbourhood. They had, in former years, taken advantage of the lofty hills of granite which cover that tract to construct a strong citadel having its base on the stream”.¹

Medieval History of Deccan and Peninsular South

South India includes the region toward the south of the Vindhya which incorporates the regions of Deccan plateau and peninsular south. The historical backdrop of South India from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth century speaks to two particular stages. The early thirteenth century was set apart by the rise of local powers on the remnants of deteriorated Chola and the Chalukya domains. The new territorial forces were the Pandyas and the Hoysalas in the south as well as the Kakatiyas and Yadavas in the north of this area. All these territorial forces are none other than the feudatories of Chola, Chalukya, and Rashtrakutas. These kingdoms ruled for over a century.

¹ Robert Sewell in his book, *A Forgotten Empire Vijayanagar: A contribution to the History of India, 1900*, explains the geographical location of Anegondi in south India with reference to the current landmarks in 1900 AD.

The second quarter of the fourteenth century saw two powerful states the Bahmani and the Vijayanagara². These two kingdoms controlled nearly the entire of South India for around two hundred years.

Yadavas of Devagiri and the Kakatiyas of Warangal were at the stage of building their powers in the fourteenth century. The Yadavas were feudatories of the Rashtrakutas and the Chalukyas for almost 300 years. The Yadava kingdom stretched out to south Gujarat, Karnataka, parts of Maharashtra, west Madhya Pradesh and Berar, the northern region of Mysore and the west side of Hyderabad State.

The Kakatiyas were feudatories to the Chalukyas of Kalyani. The independent kingdom of Kakatiyas was established in 1162 by Kakati Rudradeva also called Prataparudra I. The vast majority of the Andhra locales up to the Godavari, Kurnool and Cuddapah areas came under the control of Kakatiyas between 1162 and 1323 A.D.

The Pandyas of Madurai and the Hoyasalas of Dwarasamudra controlled the locale past the Deccan and nearly the entire of the Southern landmass. The Hoysalas ruled the areas of Karnataka and some portion of the Tamil region, whereas Pandyas had supremacy over some parts of Tamil locale and entire of Kerala. All these four kingdoms were regularly at war with each other for their matchless control over Chola regions.

2 Among these, Vijayanagara rulers (Harihara I and Bukka I) with the help of the Madhavacharya, a popular local Brahmin sage, established a powerful kingdom on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra river in 1336 A.D. After a few years, Abul Muzaffar Alauddin Hasan Gangu proclaimed king of the Deccan by founding Bahamani kingdom beyond the Krishna river in the year 1347 A.D. And its establishment commenced an era of constant warfare between these two kingdoms for the acquisition of fertile land in Raichur doab (such wars are called as geo-political wars, finally resulted for their decline). It is also believed that further south, Jalal-ud-din Ahsan Shah, the governor of Malabar of Hoyasala kingdom, established the Madurai Sultanate in the year 1333 A.D.

On the other side, Delhi Sultans solidified their hold over North India by the end of 13th century, and they began overcoming the main portion of South from the 14th century. In the first stage, amid the rule of Jalaluddin Khalji (1290-96), his nephew Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316), embraced the principal Muslim endeavour on the capital of the Yadava kingdom, Devagiri. All the above mentioned four kingdoms of Deccan and south were oppressed by Alauddin Khalji's forces somewhere between 1306 A.D. and 1312 A.D. All the southern kingdoms acknowledged the suzerainty, i.e. *khidmati* states by Alauddin Khalji without much opposition. In the second stage, Mubarak Khalji, Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, and Muhammad bin Tughlaq made crisp assaults to deal with south after the demise of Alauddin Khalji. Muhammad bin Tughlaq restored the Delhi sultanate's authority on the south, made Davagiri second capital and supported a large number of nobles, merchants, scholarly men and diverse areas of the populace to settle there and renamed it as Daulatabad.

As a result of various factors like distance from the principal capital and the decentralization of intensity in the south during Muhammad Tughlaq, new kingdoms were started emerging in South. Also, Rajputs, Deccanis, Mongols, Gujarati Amirs and Raja of Tanjore revolted and significantly settled under the Bahmani Kingdom. The newly established Bahmani Kingdom was able to expand its territories between Raichur in the south to Mandu in the north and from Goa and Dabhol in the west to Bhongir in the east, which was generally circumscribed over the waterways of Tapti and Godavari towards the peninsular south. The kingdom of Bahmani had ruled the large part of the south for a time of about 200 years and split into five separate kingdoms.

Vijayanagara Empire

The historical backdrop of the Vijayanagar Empire comprises a pivotal part ever in the history of India. A plethora of sources which are the hotspots of Vijayanagara are archaeological, epigraphical, numismatics and literary. Amukthamalyada of Srikrishnadevaraya, Allasani Peddanna's Manucharitam and Gangadevi's Maduravijayam are the indigenous written works during Vijayanagara period. The foreign travellers visited the Vijayanagar are Ibn Batuta, the Moroccan, Nicolo de Conti, the Venetian traveler, the Persian ambassador Abdur Razzak, and the Portuguese traveler Domingo Paes and Nuniz left graphic accounts on various conditions the Vijayanagar domain.

The founders of Vijayanagara, Harihara, and Bukka, earlier served the Kakatiyas of Orugallu³. When the kingdom was occupied by the forces of Delhi Sultan, they took temple at Kampili. Later they were taken as prisoners to Delhi and got converted into Islam after the defeat of Kampili rulers. A short time later, they returned to their original faith in Hinduism with the blessing of scholarly sage Vidyaranyaswamy. After they had declared their independence, the new city was built on the southern bank of river Tungabhadra called Vijayanagar which means 'city of victory'. By 1346 A.D. Harihara and Bukka the founders were successful in bringing the entire Hoyasala kingdom under their control.

As indicated by Gangadevi's Madhuravijayam, Kumara Kampana occupied Madurai sultanate in the south. As a result, Vijayanagar domain extended up to Rameswaram in deep South. The principle strife between Vijayanagar and the Bahmani kingdoms have had to control over Raichur Doab, the locale flanked by the streams of the Krishna-Tungabhadra and the Krishna-Godavari deltas. Deva Raya II⁴ was greatest ruler of Sangama dynasty, followed by Saluva Narasimha of Saluva dynasty.

3 Robert Sewell, *Op.cit.*

4 Abdur Razzak, the Persian ambassador who visited South India during Devaraya II's reign bears the testimony to the supremacy of Devaraya over the whole of South India, saying that

The third dynasty the Tuluva was founded by Vira Narasimha. Sri Krishna Devaraya is the greatest ruler of not only the Tuluva dynasty but also of the entire Vijayanagar Empire. During his rule, the empire reached its celestial heights. Meanwhile, Bahmani kingdom got disintegrated into five splinter states. Krishna Deva Raya attacked Raichur Doab and occupied the city of Raichur in 1520 A.D. Further, after defeating the rulers of Bidar and Gajapatis of Orissa, he vanquished the entire region of Telangana. He kept up neighbourly relations with the Portuguese governor Albuquerque through whom the Portuguese obtained authority over cape Comorin⁵.

Srikrishnadevaraya was a great administrator and a builder who repaired many religious sanctuaries of south India. Also, he built well known Hazara Ramaswamy and Vittalaswamy temples at Vijayanagar. In addition, he also constructed another city named Nagalapuram close to the Capital in memory of his beloved consort Nagaladevi or Nagamba⁶. He was succeeded by Achyutadevaraya and Venkataraya. Then, amidst the rule of Aliya Rama Raya, the solidified forces of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Golkonda, and Bidar pulverized him at the conflict of Tallikota⁷ in 1565 A.D. Later, Vijayanagar kingdom under Aravidu, the fourth dynasty was lingered to exist for one more century.

The organization under the Vijayanagar realm was efficient. The ruler delighted in outright expert in official, legal and authoritative issues. The progression to the position of royalty was under the rule of innate. The ruler was helped by a chamber of clergymen in his everyday organization. The empire was divided into various regulatory units called Mandalams, sthalas,

his dominions extended from Ceylon to Gulbarga and from Orissa to Malabar. For more details, see K.A.N. Sastri, *A History of South India*, Oxford University Press, Madras, 1975 (4th edition), p. 268.

5 Ibid.

6 John M. Fritz, "Authority and Meaning of a South Indian Imperial Capital", *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 88, No. 1, March, 1986, p. 48.

7 It is also known as Rakshasa Tangadi and Bannihatti.

Nadus lastly as gramas⁸. The legislative head of Mandalam was called Nayak or Mandaleswara. Vijayanagar emperors gave complete potentials with nearby experts in the organization. Other than land revenue, tributes and gifts from vassal and feudal chiefs, customs collected at the ports, taxes on various profession were other sources of income to the state. Land revenue was fixed generally 1/6th of the produce. The expenditure of the government includes personal expenses of the king and the charities given by the ruler and military expenditure. In the matter of justice, harsh punishments such as mutilation, capital punishment etc., were followed.

The armies of Vijayanagar had mounted power, infantry, gunnery and elephants. Top-breed steeds were anchored from outside traders. The powerful officers were Nayakas or Poligars. Officers were paid land assignments in lieu of their salaries in cash. Allasani Peddanna in his *Manucharitam* refers to the existence of four social classes – Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras. Foreign travelers left graphic accounts on the idea of structures and outrageous social life in the city of Vijayanagar. Silk and cotton clothes were regularly utilized for the dress. Perfumes, blossoms as well as beautifications were utilized by the commoners. Paes notices the lavish buildings of the rich and the large number their servants. Nicolo Conti informs about the existence of slavery. Dancing, music, wrestling, gambling, and cock-fights were some of the amusements.

Sangama rulers were transcendently Saivaites, and Virupaksha was their patron deity. However, the other dynastic rulers embraced Vaishnavism, especially, Srivaishnavism of Ramanuja. Muslims were employed in the administration they were freely allowed to build mosques and live⁹. A large number of religious sanctuaries were built in this period, and distinctive celebrations were commended. As mentioned by Nuniz, a large number of

⁸ John M. Fritz, *Op.cit.* p.49.

⁹ Ibid.

women were employed as dancers, maids and palanquin bearers. The relationship of royal ladies to devotion was in the long run. Gangadevi, wife of Kumara Kampana wrote the famous work *Madura Vijayam*. Hannamma and Thirumalamma were acclaimed experts of this period. Paes and Nuniz refer to the flourishing devadasi system, Polygamy, and Sati.

According to the accounts of foreign travelers, the Vijayanagara empire was one of the wealthiest empires of the time. Agriculture continued to be the predominant occupation of the people. Nuniz refers to the unearthing of canals, new tanks, and dams that were constructed over the rivers like Tunghabadra. Vijayanagar was also a great focal point of trade and industry. There were industries and merchants were organised into guilds. Metal workers and other craftsmen flourished amidst this period. Gold mines were found in Kurnool and Anantapur regions. The *Varaha* was the chief gold coin, yet weights and measures changed from place to place. Inland, coastal and overseas trade, number of seaports and Malabar coast, are the main means of trade and transport. Commercial contacts with Arabia, Persia, East Africa and Portugal on the west and with Burma, Malay landmass and China on the east prospered. The essential items were cotton and silk garments, flavors, rice, iron, saltpetre, and sugar. The imports contained horses, coral, pearls, mercury, copper, garments like China silk and velvet clothes.

The temple building activity further gained momentum during the Vijayanagara rule. The chief characteristics of the Vijayanagara architecture were the construction of tall 'Raya Gopurams' or gateways and the 'Kalyana mandapam' with carved pillars in the temple premises. The sculptures on the pillars were carved with distinctive features. The horse was the most common animal carved on these pillars. Large halls called *mantapams* contained 100 pillars and 1000 pillars in some big temples are also present at that time.

Vijayanagar style of building was found in the Hampi remains. Vittalaswamy and Hazara Ramaswamy temples were a specimen of this style. The Varadharaja and Ekamranatha temples at Kanchipuram are good examples of Vijayanagara style of monument building. The Raya Gopurams at Thiruvannamalai and Chidambaram were other monuments of Vijayanagara style¹⁰. The metal images of Krishna Deva Raya and his queens at Tirupati are cases for the casting of metal images. Languages, for instance, Kannada, Telugu, Tamil and Sanskrit thrived in their regions as a literary medium.

Historiography

Early Historiography

Marcus Tullius Cicero says “To be ignorant of what occurred before you were born is to remain always a child”. It is an evolutionary trait of developed creatures to leave and collect the strays of their own to follow in rendition. Early human left their strays in many ways to pass on to future. Times long, there were Annalists in collecting portents like Eclipses, Comets, Earthquakes, and Storms, to predict the future. Later there were chroniclers, writing a concise and simple description of events. However, the dawn of historians and chroniclers was under the Rule of St. Benedict from early 1st century AD. In the early medieval period, both historians and chroniclers tended to be drawn from monastic ranks. It took more than a millennium and three centuries to the philosophical transition of celestial temporal time to the narration of facts in the sequence of time.

Eckhart (1260-1327 A.D.) and Bishop Otto (1111-1158 A.D.)¹¹ shaped history grasping the religious thought of history. The best medieval works were

10 R. Fox, “Towards an Anthology of City Images. In *Urban India*” *Urban India Society, Space, and Image*, Duke University Press, Durham, p. 227.

11 Donald R. Kelley, *Versions of History from Antiquity to the Enlightenment*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1991, p.28.

records of contemporary history. In the twelfth century Europe standard history forming stage rose, showed up in made by Geoffroi de Villehardouin (1160-1213 A.D.)¹², and the records of Jean sire de Joinville (1224-1317 A.D.), Jean Froissart and Philippe de Comines (1445-1509 A.D.)¹³.

In the other parts of the world, the structure of history has taken various courses in the light of Buddhism, Islam and Hinduism. The beginning stage of Arabic historiography and Islamic progress is found in the Quran and Hadis¹⁴ named Prophetic Custom. Some organized enthusiasts of the past contained in the Quran appeared well and good among the Muslims, and it turned out to be more grounded with the progression of time¹⁵. The essential method, called Silsilah-I-Isnad (chain of storytellers) used¹⁶ in discovering the believability of a report about a recorded event helped the history authorities achieve lack of bias in their approach to manage a gigantic degree.

Early subcontinent History formation can be taken after from *danastutis* of Rigveda. The Mahabharata is seen as an "Itihasa", and the Ramayana is seen as a Mahakavya. The bit of the accounts exist in the adventures may return to the initial thousand years BC, yet the compositions were finally recorded significantly later fourth to fifth centuries A.D. These structures have been a bust down similarly as the class that they address; the two adventures contain parentages. The Mahabharata has the family narratives of the lunar

12 Beryl Smalley, *Historians in the Middle Ages*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1974, p.87.

13 Denys Hay, *Annalists and Historians: Western Historiography from the Eighth to the Eighteenth Centuries*, Routledge, London, 1977, p.75.

14 See D.S. Margoliouth, *Lecturers on Arabic Historians*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1930, p.144.

15 To know more details, refer Shukrieh R. Merlet, "Arab Historiography", *Islamic Culture*, Vol.LXIII, No.4, October, 1989, Hyderabad, Pp. 95-105.

16 Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1952. See, The Introductory Chapter in Part 1.

heritage, while the Ramayana has the parentage of the daylight based heredity. The Puranas have a couple of genealogical sections¹⁷. The former contains family histories of sages. The principle characterization, plotting the primary solar and lunar family lines, fuses the legends of the tales. Each one of these family chronicles, which now and again continue running till about the fifth century A.D., are produced later on tense and are created in flowery Sanskrit stanzas. Later there were eulogistic court works called *prasastis* and *charitas*, some written in Prakrit and some in Sanskrit, which are self-governing and part of votive etchings depicting the supporters and endowments.

The best cases these are Buddhacharita, framed by Asvaghosa¹⁸ in first Century A.D. Harshacharita, made by Banabhatta, Ramacharita by Sandhyakaranandi in twelfth century A.D., regardless, primary really genuine work was conveyed in old India. Rajatarangini was made by Kalhana of Kashmir in the twelfth century¹⁹.

The regularly recorded organizations were related to rulers, yet extraordinary traditions made around religious establishments like the Buddhist, Jaina, and Brahmanical foundations. Buddhist traditions recorded the gathering of three, where early Buddhist precepts and exercises were recorded. In this manner, the sincere demand was joined together, more efficient records were kept, and a course of action of the request, these compositions, for instance, the Dipavamsa and the Mahavamsa give clarified records of towns, providers, austere practices and other social practices.

17 Romila Thapar, 'The Contribution of D.D. Kosambi to Indology', in Romila Thapar, *Cultural Pasts: Essays in Early Indian History*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi 2000, p.710.

18 D.D. Kosambi, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1956, p.286.

19 Ibid.

A standout amongst the most reliable systems to be recorded as the request was the usage of lofty years. This was a system whereby rulers took the essential year when they began overseeing as a starting stage, including extended lengths of their administer terms begin. This was used first by the Mauryan head Ashoka. Later dynastic occasions were created from the time of the Guptas beginning from 319-320 A.D. designated to the essential imperative Gupta ruler; Chandragupta I. Distinctive periods that have proceeded for around two centuries are the Vikrama time 57 BC and the Saka time 78 AD.

Medieval Historiography

The start of writing history in the Persian dialect was provoked by the development of Persian scholarly people, which was not well known to the Arabic world.

The history in Persian was written by Abu said Gardezi (Zain-al-Akhbar) and by Abul Fazl Baihaqi (Tarikh-I ale Subuktigin)²⁰ are remarkable responsibility set out toward recorded writing in Persian.

Mohammad Ghur's triumph of north India opened India to outside effects from one perspective and prompted the unification of the nation under a solid focus on the other. It additionally pulled in displaced people from the neighbouring nations who spoke to various social customs. One of the customs presented by them was that of history composing. The verifiable writing delivered by them in Persian dialect is impacted by Islamic convention of historiography which thinks about composing history, third vital wellspring of information after the religious sacred text and the statute. Amid the Mughal time frame, the state belittled composition of history and a huge assortment of recorded writing in Persian spread more than two centuries.

20 Georg G. Iggers, *New Directions in European Historiography*, Middletown, 1985, p.134.

In any case, Arabic or Persian historiography sources are either travelogues or verifiable writings or accounts. Those unmistakably accessible for this period are Abdur Razzak's travelogue²¹, Tutsi's organization and country, Fakhr-I Mudabbir's fighting, are a couple of imperative ones. Arabic works additionally accessible for this period are Ibn Battuta's and Shihab-al Clamor al-Umari's movement accounts.

The pioneer ever composing was Muhammad receptacle Mansur, incorporated Shajra-I-Ansab, the Islam book of parentages of the Prophet. He is the first to compose presentation before the fundamental course, and his presentation portrays the life and military adventures of Qutb-ud-din Aibak since his arrangement in 1192 AD and up to his increase to the position of authority in Lahore in 1206 Promotion. This is the main history of the Mohmmad Ghur's victory and the establishment of an autonomous Sultanate in India. The work incorporated by Mudbir²² contains parts on the obligations of the ruler, the working of state divisions, war strategies, a method of fighting, war-steeds, their treatment, and so on. The compiler, with a specific end goal to delineate his point, has fused critical occasions that happened amid the period. Hasan Nizami set to gather the historical backdrop of Qutb-ud-din Aibak's accomplishments after his promotion to the honoured position in 1206 A.D. AD and give a nitty gritty portrayal of the second clash of Tarain in 1192 A.D. Promotion and his catch Iltutmish at Lahore in 1217A.D.

The social conditions through Minhaj-us-Siraj Juzjani of his Tabaqat-I Nasiri was age making in the undeniable view of history-production. He served Iltutmish and Sultan Razia and Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud between the period 1236-40A.D. He got another strategy of leaving a mark on the world

21 T. Stoianovich, *French Historical Method: The "Annales" Paradigm*, Cornell University Press Ithaca, 1977, p.25.

22 For more details, see, M. Harsgor, "Total History: The Annales School", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol.13, 1978, Pp.1-13.

called Tabaqat²³. In the Tabaqat shape, each custom of rulers is appeared in a substitute tabaqa (i.e. zone) and this edge is passed on to crest in 1259 Promotion. These tabaqas have tremendous information about the rising and fall of the choice lines of central Asia, Persia, India and the Mongol irruption under Chingis Khan. Minhaj's inspiration was to serve the Delhi Sultanate with certifiable information about the triumph of the Mongols over the Muslim rulers and the destruction of Muslim urban zones and towns. He drew on different sources, including the specialists and merchants who had trade relations with the Mongol rulers. The zones (tabaqat) twentieth and twenty-first devoted to India, depict the legitimate scene of the Sultans from Aibak to Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah and occupations of the key nobles of Iltutmish openly. He showed the framework for 'passing on proposition' on covering the examiners of the consistent Sultan either by giving bits of data unnoticeably or making between the shields.

The Fourteenth Century Historiography

The history made the fourteenth century is of the Khalji and the Tughlaq Sultans. Ziauddin Barani sees the official history of Sultan Alauddin Khalji and Amir Khusrau totalled the achievements of Alauddin Khalji. Other surviving fourteenth century works are Isami's *Futuh-us Salatin* in 1350 A.D. Ziauddin Barani's work *Tarikh-i Firuzshahi* in 1357 A.D. Progress, cloud work of *Sirat-i Firuzshahi* in 1370-71 A.D. and Shams Siraj Afif's work of *Tarikh-i Firuzshahi* in 1400 A.D. Isami's record, *Futuh-us Salatin* is a versified history of the Muslim rulers of India. It begins with the record of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni's rule between 999-1030 A.D.²⁴. Furthermore, achieves an end with that of the foundation of the Bahmani Sultanate in the Deccan by Alauddin Bahaman Shah, whom a dissident against Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq, in 1350 A.D. Ad. This is done work from the year 999 Ad to 1350 A.D. Isami's

23 Jacques Le Goff and Pierre Nora (eds.), *Constructing the Past: Essays in Historical Methodology*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985, p.134.

24 See Maurice Aymard and Harbans Mukhia (eds.) *French Studies in History*, 2 vols., Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1998, p.172.

depiction of the foundation of Daulatabad by Muhammad canister Tughlaq and his record of cash related difference in Delhi under Alauddin Khalji and grouped urban frameworks is sensible and keen. Tarikh-I-Firuzshahi is crafted by Ziauddin Barani.

Barani is the Indo-Persian history specialist of medieval India. Barani's work begins with Sultan Balban's increase to the throne of Delhi in 1266 A.D. to Sultan Firuzshah Tughlaq's rule, which accounts up to the year 1356 A.D. Other great works of history from the second half of the fourteenth century are the darken Sirat-I Firuzshahi, Futuhat-I Firuzshahi, formed by the Sultan Firuz Tughlaq himself and Shams-I-Siraj Afif's Tarikh-I-Firuzshahi. The exceptional structure duplicate of the Sirat-I Firuzshahi gives an official history of Firuz Shah's control up to the years 1370-71 A.D. Progression. Hams Siraf Afif's work of Tarikh-I-Firuzshahi is separated into five *qism* (parts) each containing eighteen *muqaddams* (fragments)²⁵, of unequal length. The bits of information about the establishment of new urban focuses, change of channels, water supplies and the authentic changes are basic. Yahya Ahmad Sirhindi made the history out of the Sultanate and named it after the Sultan as Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi in 1434 A.D. Business. The record starts with Sultan Muizuddin Mohammed Sam Ghurian's prosperity over India and finishes with the governance of Mohammad Shah in 1434 A.D.

The Fifteenth Century Historiography

Shihab Hakim aggregated the historical backdrop of Malwa who was named after Mohammed Khalji as Maasir-I Mahmudshah which is also the name of the book written by Abdul Hussain Tuni during the rule of Sultan Mahmud Shah Begara of Gujarat. Tarikh-I Muhammadi of Muhammad Bihamad Khani, inside the Tabaqat form, begins among the origin of Islam in Arabia.

25 Peter Burke, *Op.cit.*

It's an outline of the Tabaqat-I-Nasiri. Barani's Tarikh-I-Firuzshahi covers the history of Firuzshah and his successors.

Historiography of Mughals

The ultimate element of the Mughals historiography is the time frame. The history is composed by official writers delegated by all Mughal rulers till the rule of Aurangzeb. Another remarkable element of the period is simply the self-portraying accounts composed by heads. Babur's autobiography in the Turkish language is Tuzuk-I-Baburi and Jahangir's Tuzuk-I-Jahangiri²⁶ (in Persian) are critical works.

Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur's life account Tuzuk-I Baburi, containing the historical backdrop of the decline of the Timurid control on focal Asia, his own particular life story, the depiction of life style and civilization in India, the journal of occasions that occurred over the span of battles he drove in opposition to his adversaries in Eastern India. The Tuzuk-I Baburi isn't only a political portrayal but at the same time known as a naturalist diary. His depiction of flora and fauna of the area is realistic and insightful. Humayun (1530-1555) charged a prestigious researcher, Khawandmir, to make the history out of his rule and Khwandmir arranged a concise record of Humayun's rule from his increase up to the year 1535 A.D. Promotion and named it Qanun-I-Humayuni.

The period of Akbar in his grand years, 1556-1605 A.D. saw the advancement and he asked for to form history about the Muslim rulers from the passing of the Prophet up to his own particular time on the finishing of the fundamental thousand significant lots of Islam, i.e., a past stacked up with one thousand

26 For more details, refer Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*, James Currey, London, 1985.

years, called Tarikh-I-Alfi. The creative part displayed in the historiography is including memories of Gulbadan Begum, the young woman of Babur, Bayazid Biyat (a master of Humayun) and Jauhar Aftabchi (an individual escort of Humayun) put down their memories perfectly healthy and entitled Humayunnama. Akbar developed a fundamental social affair of seven researchers to amass Taikh-I-Alfi. Every individual from the board was doled out a period to frame its history in the progressive request. Akbar requested Abul Fazl to refresh the chronicled foundation of his run, starting with a record of Babur and Humayun.

The Akbarnama and the Ain-I Akbari give thorough motivations behind the excitement of the occasions and approaches presented by Akbar till the year 1602 A.D. Nizamuddin Ahmad and Abdul Qadir Badauni are two principals under studies of the history of the period. The previous one gives the motivations behind the energy of Muslim pioneers of India up to the fall of the Lodi association in 1526 A.D. Mughal pioneers of India up to 1593 A.D. Business and fall of normal kingdoms in India. The last one Abdul Qadir Badauni was utilized to make a clarification of Mahabharat from Sanskrit into Persian. Badauni records religious trades held in Akbar's Ibadat Khana, the wellspring of Akbar's varieties with the Muslim standard.

In the writings of the manager of Jahangir, Qazi Nurul Haque requested the history, Zubdatu't Tawarikh and closed it with the record of Jahangir's run the show. Tarikh-I Khan-I Jahani was totalled by Nemat Allah Harawi regarded Jahangir's own journals Tuzuki Jahangiri. It is an essential hotspot for his administer close by the voluble information History of the Afghan families and the Afghan rulers, the Lodis and the Surs also joined a segment on mid ten extensive stretches of Jahangir's run the show.

Two distinct researchers who conveyed accounts of Shahjahan in the midst of the significant early lots of Alamgir's govern were Sadiq Khan and Muhammad Saleh Kamboh. Crafted by Sadiq Khan entitled as Badshahnama, while the other one is broadly known as Amal-I Saleh and it is additionally called as Shahjahanama²⁷. Both these works equip imperative experiences about the war of progression among the children of Shahjahan and a significant lot of Shahjahan's life.

Muhammad Kazim named by Aurangzeb to write in his lead, and volume conveyed in the year 1568 A.D. was known as Alamgir Nama. Later, Saqi Mustaid Khan aggregates the verifiable scenery of Alamgir's run the show. Like Akbarnama of Abul Fazl and Badshahnama of Abdul Hamid Lahori, Maasir-I Alamgiri has been made in the edge out of annals, consistently has been isolated. Adjacent to those unquestionable works, various works like, Shahnawaz Khan's Maasir-ul Umara, which gives data about the biographies of nobles. Rai Chhatar Mal's Diwan-I Pasand is a treatise on Association; Ganj-I Badawurd (on Cultivation) of Amamullah Hussain, Mirzanathan's Baharistan-I Ghaybi²⁸ (1623 A.D.) is several other basic works amid Mughal time allotment.

Colonial Historiography

The 'Frontier historiography' can be seen as two particular ways. The first is the accounts of the nations colonized amid their time of pilgrim administer by history specialists, and the second one is to the thoughts and methodologies generally connected with antiquarians who were described by a colonialist belief system, the greater part of them are provincial experts as opposed to students of history. The eighteenth century antiquarian Charles Allen, who

27 Gwyn Prins, "Oral History", in Peter Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, University Park: Univesity of Pennsylvania Press, 2001, p.132.

28 See Ronald J. Grele, "Oral History", in Kelly Boyd (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing*, Fitzroy Dearbon, Chicago, 1999.

expressed "Perceptions on the Province of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of India" in 1792 A.D, had a place with the 'zealous school'. As indicated by the authentic compositions of the fervent school that, the heavenly predetermination of English leaders in India was to evangelize the gospel of Christianity in India which was soaked in the dimness of crude superstitious beliefs and religious customs. James Mill composed a progression of volumes on the historical backdrop of India entitled History of English India during the period between 1806 and 1818. James Mill had a place with a persuasive Utilitarian school of the political and financial idea, propelled by the savant Jeremy Bentham.

Mountstuart Elphinstone, a frontier government worker, composed History of Hindu and Muhammedan India (1841) and History of English Power in the East. The tradition of separating Indian historiography as 'Hindu' period and 'Muslim' period was set up because of the compelling historiography of Elphinstone. Later, capable history was delivered in the time of 1867 and 1876 by J.T. Wheeler in five volumes entitled "History of India" and followed by review of India, coming about a grasping work entitled "India under English Run" in 1886. Among every single Frontier antiquarian, Vincent Smith's work "History of India" distributed in 1911 is viewed as complete and legitimate work until this point.

The 1911 A.D. fundamental work "Rise and satisfaction of English Run in India" composed by Edward Thompson and G.T. Garratt, was a distinctive record on the start of autonomy²⁹. The Oriental Dictatorship, the possibility that India had no solidarity and portrayal of Eighteenth- Century India as Dim Century, Darwinist thought which legitimizes the English as fittest, English hero view and denigration of autonomy battle, legitimizing the English, social authority are the principle inclines in English works which

29 Eric Hobsbawm, "On History from Below", in Eric Hobsbawm, *On History*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1997, p.205.

were hypothetically assaulted and much reprimanded by Indian creators. From James Plant to Garratt historiography and Thompson had gone ahead an uncommon partition. This period, spreading over the early of the 19th century to the latest extended lengths of English control in India, by seeing the advancement from a Euro-driven and defaming way to deal with oversee India towards a more liberal and less ethno-headed toward. The major thought established in the convention of Commonplace Historiography was the viewpoint of a slacked society's improvement forces to the instance of current European typical and political society control under the tutelage of celebrated power. The overseeing furnishes of the English officials, preparing joined with 'filtration' to the minor solicitations of society.

In the light of European records on Asia and the Indian subcontinent, the fierce method to manage explorer's Historiography created two unquestionable surges of Historiography before the end of 19th century. One is with Loyalist and Communalist tendency, and other is with Marxist affinity. Nationalist historiography of medieval India developed generally in the midst of the 1920s and later. Loyalist's history of medieval India underlined the progression of a mixed culture in Northern India in light of participation among Hindus Muslims and distinctive minorities. They sheared off that Muslims and Hindus living in a conflict condition which was resultant their affinity to praise India's past and to ensure Indian culture opposite to explorer disparagement.

The pilgrim authentic view is of Positivist and Empiricist worldview. An embodiment of these essayists is some doubt in legislative issues and supported diverse choices to guarantee just and appropriate administration of human undertakings. The counter view related with particular philosophical position, and a creative comprehension of history as far as unending cooperation between the monetary and non-financial powers of human social living and awareness was risen out of the compositions of Karl

Marx, which later called as logical communism or traditional socialism. Marx considered that the constrained beginning of private enterprise in India would go about as an oblivious apparatus of history for conveying the nation up to the way of its entrepreneur change. Later Indian historiography hugely impacted Marxist view.

The principal gathering of researchers who credited to the states under audit a level of centralization sufficiently high to have brought about the successful destruction of inside regulatory decent variety, the 'Indian hypsographical show' can be viewed as 'majestic' or 'bureaucratic' of the Marxist model of oriental dictatorship and of the Asiatic method of creation. The historiography of Mughal administration was conveyed by Aligarh school of Marxist motivation³⁰, researchers like Irfan Habib. Regardless of the way that the historiographical models audited so far were supported by broadly extraordinary ideological premises and passed on differentiating sees on state centralization the partisans of the two methodologies shared a typical faith in the solid idea of the power practised by pre-frontier Indian rulers.

On the opposite side of the historiographical isolating line depicted above were various researchers who thought about that the authoritative expert of the ruler and of his specialists did not reach out past the center domains encompassing the capital while the greater part of the kingdom stayed in the hands of exceptionally independent warlords whose connection with the middle went, as indicated by details, from the consistent instalment of a tribute to the insignificant affirmation of the custom power of the ruler. Depending yet again on the typology expounded by Kulke³¹ "Such a dream of Indian pre-provincial states as having neglected to accomplish a high level of

30 Ibid.

31 Giovanni Levi, 'On Microhistory', in Peter Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2001, p.93.

political reconciliation might be said to have been shared by the supporters of the Marxist-influenced model of Indian feudalism, the advocates of the segmentary state demonstrate that was initially created by the anthropologist Aidan Southall³² based on generalisations in anthropological case studies.

Vijayanagara Historiography

It was colonial officials who initiated the writings of historical accounts on India in general. Similarly, they also took up investigations on great regional kingdoms like Vijayanagara during 19th century itself³³. It was followed by a very popular work of Robert Sewell³⁴ entitled as 'A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar)'. However, the intention behind all these endeavours was not just to recover the lost memories but also to construct the historical past to justify the colonial intervention. As rulers, it was necessary for the British not only to have physical control over the territories but also over the psychology of the masses. To that effect, the history of the subject people had to be constructed so as to justify the colonial intervention.

Till 1980, the historiography on Vijayanagara had passed through various stages from European Orientalists to Nationalist historians and to narrow nationalists or regional parochial historians³⁵. Most of these works focused on the sources, genealogy, chronology and nature of the state. However, they did

32 Georg G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity*

33 According to Stein, the first two partial accounts on Vijayanagara kingdom were of Mark Wilks in 1810 and Mackenzie's 1815, See Burton Stein. *Vijayanagara*. Foundation Books. New Delhi. 1994. p.3.

34 It was 20th century's first and famous work on Vijayanagar history. In his work Sewell tried to present a genealogical and chronological account of the four dynasties of Vijayanagara. This was followed by the translated accounts of the two Portuguese visitors to the city. It was Senhor David Lopes. who published these documents in the original Portuguese language in a work entitled *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga*. The National Press, Lisbon. 1897. For more details refer Burton Stein. *Ibid*. Pp. 1-12

35 *Ibid*.

not venture into the critical inquiry of the socioeconomic and cultural processes that took place during the period of Vijayanagara. The shift into the Vijayanagar historiography occurred after 1980 due to the efforts of scholars like Anila Verghese³⁶, George Michell³⁷, Carla Sinopoli³⁸ and Sanjay Subrahmanyam who started focusing on religious traditions, sculptural and architectural forms, crafts, craftsmen, overseas trade, etc., by adopting recent methodologies from various sources like ethnographical, sculptural, architectural and archaeological excavations and explorations. The most significant aspect of their works is that they adopted an integrated approach in analyzing the inter-relationships between political and socio-economic processes and changes. This also saw the role of the economy as an important factor. The present study also aspires to draw insights from the progressive changes that have occurred in the Vijayanagara historiography.

36 Anila Verghese who authored a work *The Archaeology, Art and Religion: New Perspectives on Vijayanagara*. Title of the work itself suggests the broader themes of the study. In this, the author dealt with varied aspects of Vijayanagara period like, architectural, sculptural, religion and social life. With the help of archaeology, a detailed study is presented on the evolution of the city of Vijayanagara and its temple architectural forms. Divergent aspects within religious cults and traditions like. Virupaksha (the palronal god of the city). Mailara (the folk-deity or folk form of Siva). Lajja Gauri (the fertility goddess) and the worship of alvars and aearyas are discussed. In social life, the practice of Sati, which was a much described and discussed phenomenon is examined in detail by correlating the information provided by the monumental data and travelogues.

37 George Michell is a specialized scholar on architecture of the Vijayanagara period. In his popular work “*The Vijavanagara Courtly Style: Incorporation and Synthesis in the Royal Architecture of Southern India 15th and 16th centuries*”, gave a lucid analysis of the architectural forms, component elements and phases of development in the style of monuments. The author discussed the functional aspects of Vijayanagara buildings. By comparing the palaces of Nayaka period. Michell estimated the influence of Vijayanagara buildings and monuments on later traditions. The book is winded up with the elaborate description on the Muslim monuments that were present at the capital city thereby demonstrating the presence and influence of Bahmani architectural traditions.

38 Carla Sinopoli, in her work on “*Pots and Palaces: The Earthenware Ceramics of the Noblemen’s Quarter of Vijayanagara*”, focused on reconstructing the chronology with the help of archaeological ceramics. She also demonstrated that the ceramics could provide important information on a variety of aspects like social and culturallife in ancient times i.e. the kind of potters used by different classes of society and the purpose for which they used. A comprehensive statistical approach to the classification of Vijayanagara ceramics is also presented. The author compares the noblemen's quarter ceramics with collections made from other areas of the site, the city's main Islamic quarter and a lower status residential area. The differences in ceramic frequencies and wares in these areas can be attributed to cultural and social differences of the people living in the settlement.

The significance of the Study

The rationale for choosing this topic is the significance of the period and the kingdom³⁹. The kingdom of Vijayanagara, which was the greatest regional kingdom in the medieval period, derives its name from the capital city Vijayanagara⁴⁰ (the city of victory). The Vijayanagara kings were peninsular overlords, and their capital Vijayanagara⁴¹ was the symbol of vast power and wealth. The lordship became powerful to the extent of being comparable to that of an empire. This is the period in which the strong structural bases of social, economic and cultural institutions, religious and literary traditions were formed that had significant control over the society. It was during the reign of Krishnadevararaya that the Portuguese first established them on the west coast of India, under Francisco de Almeida. By skilful diplomacy and military force, they came to dominate the lucrative horse trade with Vijayanagara.

³⁹ It was started as kingdom, later developed into Empire under powerful rulers of Sangama, Saluva and Tuluva dynasties. In the early writings, it was debate among the scholars that whether Vijayanagara is a kingdom or an empire. However, based on various characteristic features, majority of scholars agreed as an empire. Hence, contextually both kingdom and Empire are used in the thesis.

⁴⁰ On the basis of extensive and hitherto unused Portuguese and Dutch archival sources, Sanjay Subrahmanyam in his work, *The Political Economy of Commerce: Southern India. 1500-1650*, argued that the reason for the growth and development of pre-colonial Indian economy was not due to the external demand of Indian goods but increasing expansion of internal economy. The author not only denied the significance of external trade but also pointed that the interaction between South Indian developments and international processes look place in certain economic institutions like, network of marketing villages, great coastal emporia and operations of revenue farmers.

⁴¹ According to Rama Sharma, the name Vijayanagara given to the kingdom is a misnomer and he further argues that the Vijayanagara kingdom was called Karnataka *Samrajya* (the kingdom of Karnataka). *Kauhara Charnataka* and so on. Vijayanagara was its capital. But it was really one of the many capitals like Penukonda, Chandragiri and Belur, which also became the seats of the central government in the later days. See M.l. Rama Sharma. *The History of the Vijayanagara Empire*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1978. p.1. However, Vijayanagara was not only the kingdom in Indian history to witness more than one capital. Moreover, history reminds that the capital that acted as a prominent and lasted in the long run in their rule was considered to be the main capital and sometimes it acts as a synonym for particular kingdom.

During this period, along with geographical discoveries, Western countries started renewing overseas trade with the Indian subcontinent in general and the Peninsular India in particular. As part of this, traders, officials, travellers, etc., from various countries came to the court of Vijayanagara⁴². As a result, one can notice the changes like martialization of its politics and the transfiguring of older economic and social institutions by the forces of urbanization, commercialization and monetization etc. The sources of European representations give new verifiability to indigenous narratives and is analysed here.

Sources of the Study

The source material for the study can be broadly divided into two categories viz, primary (contemporary) and secondary. The primary sources are further divided into epigraphical (predominantly lithic and copper plates⁴³, literary (both indigenous and foreign), archaeological and *Kaifiyats* (administrative records maintained by the local officials in the villages). Secondary sources are books that were written on the basis of primary sources and articles in various journals. Even though the foreign chronicles play significant role in reconstructing trade and its patterns, other sources like inscriptions,

⁴² Vijayanagara was also known as Vidyanagara (city of learning) that commemorates the role of the saint Vidyaranya in the monumental events that took place during its establishment. K.A.N. Sastri, *A History of South India*. Oxford University Press, 1975 (fourth edition) (first published in 1955). P.239. Vijayanagara was also familiar with the name Virupakshapattana where the shrine of Siva. Virupaksha as the protector was situated. Burton Stein, *Op.cit.* p. 19. To know the stories related to the origin of the name of the city, see Vasundhara Filliozat (Ed.). *The Vijayanagar Empire as seen by Domingo Paes and Fernao Nuniz: Twelfth century Portuguese Chroniclers*. National Book Trust. New Delhi. 1977.

⁴³ Inscriptions are of two kinds: donative and commemorative. The donative inscriptions record gifts to temple in the form of land, cattle, tax remissions, constructing water tanks and charitable institutions like chowtries. Commemorative inscriptions include details of the achievements of donors. Primarily the donors were the rulers, their officials, nobles, private individuals, merchant guilds, the village assembly, the *agrahara* (the village donated to Brahmins) assembly, or sometimes all the people as a whole from the village. On the other hand, Copper plate inscriptions record gifts in the form of villages, or lands as *agrahara* to Brahmin scholars and temples. They contain statements of government expenditure on education, public works and cultural activities.

archaeological findings and indigenous literary works also among the reliable sources of information for this study.

Inscriptions provide many details with regard to the genealogy, chronology, military exploits of the rulers and the extent of their kingdoms. These inscriptions throw light on the historicity of characters that were ministers, generals, officials, etc. Further, they also give valuable information regarding the social, economic and cultural life of the people of the period. Full translations and summaries of the plethora of inscriptions found in all the regions of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Tamil Nadu are published in various works like. Annuals Reports on Indian Epigraphy (*ARIE*), Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy (*ARSIE*), Epigraphia Indica (*EI*), Epigraphia Andhra (*EA*), Epigraphia Carnatika (*EC*), Indian Antiquary (*IA*), Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh (*MP*). Copper Plate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum (*CPIAPGM*). South Indian Inscriptions (*SII*), Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions (*TTDI*). etc.,

The scholarly works are awesome help in recreating the financial, social and authoritative history of the period. The artistic sources can be isolated into two gatherings, viz, indigenous and outside. The previous one comprises of contemporary history in the territorial dialects. The Vijayanagara lords took extremely unmistakable fascination in belittling Telugu, Tamil, Kannada and Sanskrit writers. A portion of the best bits of writing was delivered amid this period. The reign of Krishnadevaraya was an uncommon significance in this sort of exercises, which denoted another time in the abstract history of South India. Krishnadevaraya himself was a researcher who penned a renowned work in Telugu known as Amuktamalyada on statecraft, which can be of assistance in the present investigation. Allasani Peddana's Manucharitramu, Pinavirabhadra's Jaimini Bharaiamu. Ramaraja Bhusana's Vasucharitamu. Nandi Timmana's Parijata Paharanamu. Rayavachakamu of an unknown essayist, and so on are different works that are important to the present study.

Summary of the Chapter:

In this chapter, an attempt was made to introduce the reader to the general aspects of the thesis and the subject matter. One of the problems which the thesis mentioned was the question and the treatment of the subject matter, that is the city of Vijayanagara in the various representations, and while this theme does not reach any conclusive end, the point is to study different representations and their reconstruction of the city in the various facets. This chapter ends by making a case for the study of the Vijayanagara through European travel narratives based on the following justification. One of the important observations of the European writers is Eurocentric view and how far this has gone into the writing of history in India is a point well debated, and this will put the contribution in that direction. Secondly, the importance of travel writing as a comparative corrective to the local sources is evident in their (Travel writing's) use of different concepts and categories and in this case of the European concepts and categories. Another important rationale for using the travel writings is that it helps us to understand the connections of the Vijayanagara in the larger world of the Indo-European trading network.

CHAPTER-II

SOURCES AND THEIR CONTEXT:

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction:

This chapter is primarily concerned with the sources of Vijayanagara and their employment by different schools of historians. Most of the primary sources of Vijayanagara that were used by the historians of 1920s and 30s is centred on the questions of polity and hence were literary sources. One of the important concerns of the historians of this period was not only the question of nationalism as a reaction to the colonialists but also the whole idea of a regional unit of the emerging Kannada speaking people's aspirations. It is in this context that textual sources were largely used to bring about the political institutions and the nature of kingship. By the 1960s, new historians have embarked on the project of examining the agrarian institutions and agrarian structure as a response to the peasant question in mediaeval India that was informed by the agrarian movements of the contemporary temporary period. The primary references for this period was the inscriptions and the archaeological sources connected with the agrarian structures that helped to reconstruct land grants and patterns of production and the social structure and the economic base.

By the 1980s, there was a renewed interest in urbanisation and the ceremonials of the state and a new phase of questions about the character of the state based on the whole idea of political formation emerged. It is in this context that archaeology became important and travel writing also becomes an important area of study. By the 1990s, travel writing becomes the preferred

source of study to understand the Eurocentric representations particularly after the publishing of the famous work titled 'Orientalism' by Edward Said. It is in this context that the present literature survey aims to understand the shifting trajectories involved in the differing approaches to Vijayanagara.

One can discern three categories of secondary works on the Vijayanagara Empire by considering the ways the works have dealt with the period of this particular empire. The first category of works is those, which discuss the passing history of all dynasties of Andhra desa from its inception. These works engaged with the history of all weaker dynasties of the region and importance to major kingdoms like the Satavahanas, Kakatiyas and Vijayanagara. The second category of works emphasized all the major aspects of the kingdom in the traditional manner. All these works dealt each section separately without pausing to consider, for example, the nature and the pattern of socio-economic structures that developed in different stages and their impact on society and polity.

The third category of works treats and highlights some aspects over the entire history with recent methodologies and innovative sources. The concerns and perspective of the third categories of work that has departed from the other two have much to offer for our work to deal with the Vijayanagara period. However, these divisions do not entail a strict categorization of these works, exclusive of each other. There are certain works⁴⁴ that overlap and focus on a few aspects of different

⁴⁴ Significant works like, Suravaram Pratapa Reddy's *Andhrula Samgika Charitra* (in Telugu). B.S.L. Ilanumantha Rao's *Religion in Andhra*. K. Sundaram's *Studies in Economic and Social Conditions of Medieval Andhra A.D. 1000 - A.D 1600* etc discusses only one or more aspects of the Vijayanagara period since these works tried to look into change and development of one aspect in different periods. *Andhrula Samgika Chariira* (A Social History of the People of Andhra) of Suravaram Pratapa Reddy is comprehensive account of the society of medieval Andhra *desa* in Telugu. On the basis of political history of the region, the author divides the work into various chapters and gives a detailed account of the social life of each period. Inscriptions, contemporary native and foreign sources, sculpture, and coins are some of the sources for this work. B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao's work is considered to be the only voluminous work on the religious history of Andhra. which gives extensive information on the

dynasties on a comparative note. In the following are some of the significant works that come under the first category.

Works of K.B. Sekharam, B.R. Rao, K. Satyanarayana, C. Seshagiri Rao falls under this category. Although, change is there in their perspectives they tried to furnish vast information from various spheres of different periods of Andhra. Sekharam deals with ancient and medieval Andhra history in *Andhra through the Ages*. It is classed into two parts, the first part comprises nine chapters and the second is of four chapters. The First four chapters of part one discuss the origin, language, geography and sources of Andhra history. Information on Vijayanagara period is covered in the second part of the work. However, proper treatment was not given to the sources as far as economic history and its relations with the other spheres of society of the period are concerned i.e. an economic analysis was lacking.

existence of various religions and the role played in the process of social evolution, from the establishment of Satavahana rule down to the decline of Kakatiyas. The main reason to add this work is to understand about various religions and role of religious institutions in strengthening the state and economy of the region prior to the establishment Vijayanagara Empire. In his work, Sundaram draws upon usual source like the inscriptions; literary works by indigenous writers as Vallabharaya, Srinatha and Koravi Goparaju and by such foreign travelers as Marco Polo, Abdur Razzack and Nicolo Conli; and recorded local traditions, such as manuscripts found in the Mackenzie Collection (gathered between 1787 and 1817) and in various local *sthala puranas*. The author attempts to describe the nature of industry and of artisan communities after resuming the 'political complexion' of Andhra in medieval times. He concentrates on the *Panchalas* and *Teliki* communities. *Panchalas* were five castes of craftsmen: Blacksmiths, stone-masons, carpenters, metal workers, and jewelers. *Telikis* were oil-mongers. He provides detailed information about specific trading and merchant communities of the period concentrating on communities like the *Komalis* the *Vyaparis*, the *Balanjas* and the Tamil *Chelliars* in Andhra. It is noteworthy that, in virtually every instance, information has been extracted from a particular community's claim to frame in its connections to temple patronage. Similarly, in his work *Merchant Companies in Coromandel Coast* covering Coromandel from 1650 to 1740 [though this work considered as one of the significant works among maritime history, it has to be discussed here since it is highlighting and probing in to changes that took place in maritime relations i.e. focusing on one major aspect (commerce) for different periods]. S. Arasaratnam maintains that the regional seaborne trade peaked in the early 1680s declined after 1690 and at best stagnated in the subsequent decades. Like many before him, he attributed this pattern primarily to the political upheavals from the collapse of the Vijayanagar Empire to the fall of Mughal control over the region. The pattern of economic growth also owed to the willingness of Europeans to monopolize trade routes often by violent means. The work established the close relationship between "hinterland" and "coast", putting in place the many stepping stone between weavers in the villages and buyer in the ports.

'A Study of the History and Culture of the Andhras' is the voluminous work written by K. Satyanarayana. There are two volumes of this title in which he tries to write a complete history of Andhra up to medieval times. The second volume is significant for our study. From the subtitle 'The Consolidation of Feudalism' of this volume, one can infer that it was written on the Marxist framework. The author spared a very few pages to describe religion, caste and social conditions. Although the work is in a Marxist framework, it does not show any link, relation, or influence of one aspect with another aspect of the society. They form a fundamental corpus.

The second category includes European scholarship or orientalist who opened the field by identifying some of the major literary and inscriptional sources and associated broad chronology by using earlier Indian accounts with the help of the Indians as their subordinates. The work of Robert Sewell⁴⁵ is considered to be one of the pioneering and popular works of the 20th century under this category of works. Sewell, in his work, has provided a brief outline of the Vijayanagara dynasty with genealogical and chronological evidences. This is followed by a detailed and historically configuring translated account taken from two of sixteenth-century Portuguese visitors to the city. A nascent towel developed idea of the exotic east was the defining idea of the time. Sewell's time also is witness to the bringing in to the European knowledge the details about the authentication of the royal ceremonies by numerous royal courts in south India. Moreover, a vivid description of the city has been verified by archaeological research carried out at Hampi, the site of Vijayanagara, by contemporary scholars from India and Europe, supplemented by photography of the site that goes back to 1856.

⁴⁵ R. Sewell, *Op.cit.*

The earliest and most influential successor of Sewell is S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar. While inheriting the historiography from Sewell and other Europeans, Krishnaswamy departed from them on two registers. Firstly, he emphasized the Hindu- Muslim conflict that was an important cause and principal shaper of the Vijayanagar kingdom. He also claimed that resistance to Islam was the great vindication of the Vijayanagara. An evident change in the historiography on Vijayanagara could be seen with insistence from Krishnaswamy on the as much on epigraphy and archeology as on interpretations of historians. A synthetic approach can be discussed from this period. A synthetic approach can be discussed from this period. This is apparent from his preoccupation with this methodology, right from the nascent accounts he produced on Vijayanagara. Poems of praise (*kavya*) and genealogical accounts of great families (*vamsavali*) in Sanskrit and other languages manifest a return to the sources that Wilks and Mackenzie considered the most important: this marked a shift in focus from the historians of the previous generation.

Sewell and others relied on Portuguese chronicles and Muslim accounts such as that of Muhammad Kasim Firishtah which had been translated in 1910, concentrating up upon the royal families of Vijayanagara in their great capital. In his historical reconstructions, Krishnaswami Aiyangar⁴⁶ relied more on the evidence from inscriptions, apart from reference to literary sources, to study the numerous magnates in Karnataka. He insisted that the former could only provide the 'barebones' of historical study.

⁴⁶ In his work, *A little-known Chapter of Vijayanagar History*, Krishnaswami Aiyangar has here brought together from inscriptions and other sources a large body of facts which add considerably to the existing stock of information: these bear mainly on the series of revolutions which established the Saluva family in power. The first of these kings and two of his successors bore the name of the kingdom rather than of its sovereign. Hence we read of the country of Narsinga of which the capital was Bisnaga (Vijayanagar).

Regional nationalism was on the rise in parts of the larger Madras Presidency, especially among Kannada and Telugu speakers during this period. This is evident from the works of important historians of the 1930s like. B. Saletore (his writings on Karnataka history) and N. Venkataramanayya (his writings on Andhra). They adopted Krishnaswami Aiyangar's way of accounting history by relying upon literary evidence, but differed from him on the count of looking at Vijayanagara history from the core of the kingdom, in the border region between Kannada-speaking Karnataka and Telugu-speaking Andhra rather than from either Tamil country or the perspective of the peninsula as a whole.

For Saletore, the Vijayanagara kingdom of the fourteenth century was created by the release of 'latent energy of the Hindu Dharma in southern India by Muslim conquest and humiliation. While this view already had been prominent with the work of Krishnaswami Aiyangar. Saletore went further this argument by projecting Vijayanagara an expression of Karnataka nationalism. Soon after, N. Venkataramanayya challenged Saletore's with his monographs⁴⁷ in subsequent years. These works presented a counter-interpretation that the founders of the Vijayanagara, the sangama brothers, were not Kannada speakers (Kannadigas) but belonged to the Andhra coast of the Bay of Bengal. The boar emblem that was thought to be connecting Vijayanagara with the ancient Karnataka kingdom of the Chalukyas of nearly a thousand years was actually borrowed from the Telugu Kakatiya kingdom of the fourteenth century. He also argued that two of the foundational institutions of the Vijayanagara state were introduced by the Telugu conquerors of Karnataka on the model of the Kakatiyas; these were the distinctive form of military land tenure called the *nayankara* system,

⁴⁷ Important among these monographs include *Studies in the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara* (1935).

and the distinctive form of paid village servants called the *ayagar* system. A large number of primary sources substituted this claim.

Later, T.V. Mahalingam⁴⁸ contributed a work on administrative and economic aspects of Vijayanagara history. He explored the rise and fall of numerous chiefly families everywhere, accounting on their alliances and their oppositions to the Vijayanagara imperial order as well as the conquests of its kings, or *rayas* or *rajas* and their occasional humiliations.

Another important work in this category is of K.A.N. Sastri's *A History of South India: from Pre-historic Times to the Decline of Vijayanagar*. The work covers the whole range of South Indian history from earliest times to the fall of Vijayanagara Empire. The impact of Nilakanta Sastri upon Vijayanagara history was profound, though he published no monographic research in the field. In addition to new archaeological material, he revised the chapter 3 in his 2nd edition by using the same source. Interestingly Sastri used different sources for different chapters: for example, he relied on archaeological material for the third chapter, while relying on literary sources for the fourth chapter. However, his skepticism about historical sources other than inscriptional ones made some of his writings different from that of Krishnaswami Aiyangar and others. Venkataramanayya and Mahalingam, for example, depended heavily on literary sources. They used the local traditions collected by Colin Mackenzie during the early

⁴⁸ Two important works were contributed by T.V. Mahalingam. The work entitled *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar* was published in 1940. The work in continuation of this is *Economic Life in the Vijayanagar Empire* in 1951. In this the author depended on variety, of sources for the information, mostly he gleaned information from the contemporary inscriptions and literary sources, and from the accounts of Muslim and European travelers, on the agriculture, trade, and manufactures of the Vijayanagar empire. The six chapter in the book are: 'The Country and the People'. 'Agriculture and Land Tenures'. 'Industries'. 'Trade and Commerce'. 'Taxation'. 'Currency, and Measures', and 'The State and Economic Wellbeing'. The work is strikingly free from all kinds of prejudices.

nineteenth century. These were maintained at the Oriental Manuscripts Library of the University of Madras. They also used poetical works of both Muslim and Portuguese chronicles.

To Nilakanta Sastri, the way to historiography that could attract the attention of the Europeans is the account that is derived from reliance upon the relatively chaste, datable, and locatable epigraphical records, of which tens of thousands had been collected in South India. In addition to this, casting interpretations of these fragmentary' data in a universal frame that showed medieval South Indian administrative institutions to be of the same quality as European ones, i.e. conventional centralized administration also could inspire Europeans.

One could see the influence Nilakanta Sastri had on the subsequent writings. A. Krishnaswami Pillai for instance, showed this in his work, *The Tamil Country under Vijayanagara* (1964). He looked at the politics of the kingdom as 'feudal" everywhere in the southern peninsula, especially in Tamil country. He attempted to provide a positive foundation for the Vijayanagara state, which incidentally differs from Sastri's centralism. However, Krishnaswami Pillais" applique of feudalism is unpersuasive and diminishes a monograph which otherwise rich in detailed analysis. His main thrust recalls the earlier works of Krishnaswami Aiyangar and Venkataramanayya.

After careful evaluation of a vast and hitherto unknown body of scholarship, a third category⁴⁹ of works probes into the details of socio-economic and politico-cultural processes that were taking place. After definite investigation of different sources, Burton Stein contended that

⁴⁹ Scholars like. George Michell, John M. Fritz, Anila Verghese, Kathleen D. Morrison, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Carla Sinopoli, Philip B. Wagoner comes under this category. Though they differ in their areas of specializations but aimed to reconstruct the links between different spheres and processes of the period with new sources and innovative methodologies.

Vijayanagara was royal just in the restricted sense that it was an agglomeration of imperial controlling regions of more noteworthy or lesser degree, yet paying praise to the decision house and furnishing it with troops. Such magnates were not, in any case, feudatories in the old western sense, nor did the domain apply any genuine specialist over them. There was no royal organization whatsoever, and Vijayanagara never defeated its characteristic inclination to go to pieces, with Stein insightfully following what he portrays as 'rivalry inside and among imperial ancestries for the position of royalty'. However, it was a state sorted out, for war, which in the late Middle Ages quickly turned out to be costlier.

The Hindu rulers of the south required horsemen to withstand the very versatile and imposing rangers of Islam, similarly as it in this manner required guns as these came into more broad utilize. This cost cash which constrained the royal rulers and their related boss to search for new incomes. A portion of the magnates did well from the exchange and benefitted from mediation in the undertakings of sanctuaries. Vijayanagar achieved significance in the setting as the city thrived not just as an illustrious seat, custom focus and military fortification, yet additionally as a focal point of trade. Its abundance and wonderfulness were striking as ongoing archaeological unearthings have uncovered precisely portrayed by Portuguese travellers in the mid-1500s⁵⁰.

Stein surveys, similarly as is conceivable, the material assets of the rulers and their grandees. He contends that the domain's southern development was an endeavour to tap the business of the west drift. He sees that with arrive estranged on a huge scale especially for sanctuaries, cash was predominantly raised through duties on

⁵⁰ For more details, see Burton Stein, *Vijayanagara*. Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, Pp 33-39.

exchange and industry. These are deftly and definitively taken care of, and Stein has critical things to state on the agrarian association, the part of sanctuaries in urbanization and on the unfaltering continuing Telugu entrance of Tamil terrains that enlivened Vijayanagara's transient majestic adventure.

One of the persuasive works at Vijayanagara that falls under the third classification is of Noboru Karashima. His noticeable work, "Towards a New Formation: South Indian Society under Vijayanagar Rule" manages the historical backdrop of the Vijayanagara. In his work, despite the fact that he moved so as to the fourteenth to seventeenth hundreds of years, still, he managed principally with Tamil engravings to examine about the Vijayanagara Empire that spread over all of South India.

This work is critical not just for its itemizing of the historical backdrop of Vijayanagara yet it is additionally vital for its reasonable introduction of the epigraphical sources and their applications for verifiable request. In the main portion of his work. Karashima clarifies with the issues of state arrangement by concentrate the practices of the military/political pioneers called nayakas and other powerful people bearing high honorific titles. He can show the distinctions in the association of intensity between the fifteenth and the sixteenth hundreds of years. While clarifying about the period, he indicates out the operators capable to the Vijayanagara rulers associated consistently with nearby notables (naitar) in the Tamil nation. In the later period, the realm advanced toward a more "medieval" model, as nayakas got income gifts from the lords that prompted more noteworthy nearby self-governance and in the end the improvement of free states. Amid the sixteenth century, the engravings yield fewer references to the naitar also, recommending that nearby pioneers turned out to be progressively barred from open undertakings as nayakas infiltrated all the more viably into

neighbourhood issues. None of these discoveries is currently or at no other time have had they so plainly rose up out of the first sources.

This work likewise shows a comprehensive review of expense and income terms found in the Tamil engravings from 1300 to 1650. Karashima features provincial centralizations of craftsman and art generation (prominently in North and South Arcot) that extended amid the Vijayanagara time frame. Albeit essential classes of surplus extraction from horticulture demonstrate exceptional congruity from prior hundreds of years, there are different classifications (e.g., *kanikkai* or "presents") that were new cesses. Karashima consistently makes references to the political distress and even insubordination amid the beginning periods of Vijayanagar administer, as nearby landholders and cultivators endeavored (now and again effectively) to stay away from inconveniences that upheld extra levels of the state organization. Changes in number and sort of income terms bolster his proposal that there was noteworthy progress in the political economy around the start of the sixteenth century.

The finding of the earthenware production overview led by Karashima presents a fascinating section on abroad exchange, while are giving insights about different destinations along the bank of south India. These studies, for the most part, accumulations of surface discover, yield gatherings of Chinese earthenware that are promptly datable, and offer tremendous conceivable outcomes for the examination of exchange amid the time the Portuguese were entering into the Asian sea framework. At the point when completed on a bigger scale and all the more deliberately and when connected with investigations of early craftsman networks like the *Kaikkolar* (pp. 159-69).

In any case, archaeological investigations, later on, may result in a quantum jump in the comprehension of the early South Indian economy. Karashima limits himself for the most part to making

hypothetical commitments however his work expands a general point of view on the progressions in political economy from the Chola to the Vijayanagara time frame.

One of the pioneers among the history specialists of oceanic trade is K. N. Chaudhari. He has given us three works of wide scope and combination. The exchanging universe of Asia and the English East India Company, 1600 - 1760 is one of the best works in this field. Exchange and human advancement in the Indian Ocean give some superb Asia-fixated material on the ascent of the Islamic and Chinese circles of creation and exchange, on products, transportation, and entrepots in Asian exchange, and on the European interruptions.

Another masterpiece on maritime history is *The Portuguese in India* composed by M.N. Pearson. The creator made huge commitments to the investigation of political economy and state working in the medieval period. This examination is a most valuable review of Portuguese-Indian and Portuguese-Muslim correlations. The work keeps up attention on Portuguese foundations and activities, less emphatically indigenizing in push than his prior work on the Portuguese in Gujarat (M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century*, Berkeley. California. 1976). All over, from Mozambique to Island of Southeast Asia, the Portuguese experienced settled and advanced Muslim trader networks and took after Muslim exchange courses.

The unwarranted and unpredictable savagery of Portuguese strikes in their first stage was fruitful, in spite of the mind-boggling numerical prevalence of the Muslims. The Ottoman Empire and the Mamluk state in Egypt confronted numerous difficulties inside and on their different outskirts and needed to mount their Indian Ocean campaigns from desert coasts; they were just infrequently ready to send a noteworthy armada to safeguard their kindred Muslims in India against Portuguese

assaults and did not build up a changeless construct or nearness in light of the Indian drift. Nonetheless, the worries of the work don't give a grapple to our work. In any case, the measurement of the connection between Portuguese-Indians and Portuguese-Muslims in India assist us with foregrounding our work in this specific circumstance.

Sanjay Subrahmanyam in his work, 'The Political Economy of Commerce: South India 1500-1650' traverse through different sources to delineate the time of Vijayanagara. The book researches the business of southern India of a century and a half after 1500. This work likewise finds the place possessed by abroad exchange 'in the authentic procedures' of the locale. The creator attempts to give a definite record of the period from the establishing of the Deccan Sultanates and the Vijayanagara. The political and monetary conditions, their interrelationships and the effect of the Portuguese, Dutch, Danish and English commercial penetrations amid 1500 and 1650 locate a superior specifying in his work. He also defines the region (peninsular India from Bijapur southward), and discuss the economy in the rural and urban settings and also extended the investigation to coastal and overland trade.

The nature of commodities and their role in the overseas trade from 1500 to 1570 and from 1570 to 1650 are described in his work. The work offers a fascinating part of the part of Asian and European members in this exchange on the western and eastern coasts. The complementarities in the instruments and clashes to their greatest advantage in the ventures to Southeast Asia, and Europe have been brought out in this specific work. The Portuguese ruled the exchange of the sixteenth century was releasing infrequent savagery and brutalities on the indigenous dealers, for example, the Mappilas of Kerala, and opposing business focuses like Bhatkal and Basrur.

The work illustrates this sort of European arrangement of viciousness in their quest for monopolistic benefits over the Asians in outer trade. The works take a lot of its motivation from Portuguese, Dutch, Danish and English files to portray the general setting, spatial and quantitative, of exchange. Sanjay convincingly exhibits the centrality of nearby business in its own right. He unites significant proof on the moving fortunes of such ports as Masulipatnam and Cochin. He collects a mass of data on those indigenous traders he depicts as 'conspicuous administrators in the realm of southern India in the mid-seventeenth century', and he gives a cautious assessment of the inquisitive history of the Genoese East India organizations. Between monetization and commercialization, a close relationship of the economic historians⁵¹ of pre-colonial South Asia has always been sighted - the orientation towards the markets producers (agriculturalists and manufacturers) on the other.

In the past forty years, writings on this theme have been focused. The fact that money as social and political existence is understood by medieval and modern India. Therefore, writings on money and the market cannot be entirely separated from the larger issues of revenue-rising, state power, and social and cultural attitudes towards commercial and monetary institutions. In India, as in Europe, historical

⁵¹ Scholars like. K.N. Chaudhuri, Ashin Das Gupta, M.N. Pearson. S. Arasaratnam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam falls under this category. Their works in the field includes. K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge, 1985), *Asia before Europe: Economy and Civilization of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge, 1990); Ashin Das Gupta & M. N. Pearson (eds.), *India and the Indian Ocean 1500-1800* (Calcutta 1987); M.N. Pearson, *The Portuguese in India* (Cambridge, 1987), *Before Colonialism Theories on Asian-European Relations 1500-1750* (Delhi, 1988); Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Political Economy of Commerce: Southern India 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1990), *Merchants, Markets, and the State in Early Modern India* (Delhi, 1990), *Improvising Empire: Portuguese Trade and Settlement in the Bay- of Bengal 1500-1700* (Delhi, 1990), *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History* (London, 1993), *Money and the Market in India 1100-1700* (Delhi, 1994). *The Career and Legend of Vasco Da gama* (New Delhi, 1997).

reflections on money and markets are tied to larger debates on the nature of the economy. The shift and change in approach, method and orientation of the work etc., have been changed in the maritime historiography over the last four decades.

The writings of the 1960s set out to counter the thesis of an Asiatic Mode of Production and British imagination of India's village communities. In opposition to these theories of self-sufficient rural India, frozen in time, historians produced evidence of extensive trade, a money economy and credit networks. Subsequent discussions on the limits of the market economy, the expansion and contraction of money in circulation, and cyclical fluctuations in trade became part of the debate on Indian Feudalism. It was argued by some historians⁵² that a recession of trade after the 6th century led to a process of de-monetization, de-urbanization, and the de-commercialization and fragmentation of political power: only after the 12th century was there a revival of trade and markets. This thesis was questioned by many other historians⁵³ who pointed to the extensive nature of local trade and the massive involvement of local merchants in regional trade, the emergence of regional kingdoms etc., throughout the period.

In discussing money and trade, historians have also reflected on the limits and the specific nature of market forces operating in pre-colonial India. There are studies⁵⁴ on varied themes like the 'administered trade', the political control of prices, the hierarchy of markets, the social dimensions of exchange relations, and the structure of the credit

⁵² R.S. Sharma. D.N. Jha. B.N.S. Yadav comes under this category.

⁵³ Scholars like. B.D. Chattopadhyaya. Herman Kulke. Cynthia Talbot etc, comes under this category.

⁵⁴ Studies of Carla Sinopoli and Sanjay Subrahmanyam examined the role of administration in internal and external trade and tried to explain the social dimensions of exchange relations and organization of production processes.

networks. Sanjay Subrahmanyam in his work, "Money and the Market in India 1100-1700" addresses certain basic and interrelated questions like, the role played by money and markets in polities, economies and societies of medieval and early modern India. It also investigates into the reach money had in the large urban centres, major overland trade routes, and port cities. The work also opens out to questions related to the likelihood of monetized transactions among a wider set of social groups, barring privileged spaces. Although he addresses the above dimensions with reference to India during 1100-1700, he could not deal or highlight these in depth as far as the Vijayanagara dynasty is concerned. Our work attains importance in this context. It tries to fill this gap by going beyond the limitations of the work mentioned above.

Carla Sinopoli is equally a noteworthy historian who has contributed to the historiography of Vijayanagara period. In her article "The Organization of Craft Production at Vijayanagara. South India" she has used archaeological and ethnographic data on the one hand and historical documentation on the other to elaborate on three modes of productive organization. Two rather different sources of evidence are called upon to examine craft specialization at Vijayanagara. Textual evidence is used in the study of weaving and textile production, whereas, the Historic evidence provides information on the importance of this craft in revenue generation and long distance trade. The textile industry was highly controlled by merchant unions, master weavers, and weaving communities. This textile industry was subjected to intense taxation by the state. Material evidence, both archaeological and ethnographic, is used to examine ceramic production. The ceramic industry was tilted towards meeting the domestic needs of large peasant consumers. Potters differed considerably from weavers in economic and social status, and the regulation of the ceramic production and products occurred at the relatively low level of the localized community potters.

Afterwards, in her work on *Pots and Palaces: The Earthenware Ceramics of the Noblemen's Quarter of Vijayanagara*. Sinopoli concentrated on recreating the sequence with the assistance of archaeological earthenware production. She likewise exhibited that earthenware production could give essential data on an assortment of viewpoints like social and cultural life in ancient times. This incorporates the distinctive sort of potters utilized by different classes of society and the reason for which they utilized. She has given an extensive measurable way to deal with the characterization of Vijayanagara pottery. The creator likewise contrasts the aristocrats' quarter pottery and accumulations produced using different territories of the site, the city's principle Islamic quarter and a lower status neighbourhood. The distinctions in clay frequencies and products in these territories can be ascribed to social and social contrasts of the general population living in the settlement. With the assistance of archaeological information, Sinopoli attempted to clarify the social and social life particularly, a way of life of different social gatherings in the capital city of Vijayanagara.

In addition to this, the central concern of our enquiry is to look into the material culture of the period, giving special emphasis to trading commodities, both imports and exports and artisanal products in the Vijayanagara period. The work will involve a descriptive as well as the analytical mode of examination. Further, our work would look into the details of fluctuations in the socio-economic positions and change in the cultural life of various merchant groups. In other words, to explore the processes of acculturation among various social groups of the composite and complex society of the Vijayanagara period.

Robert Sewell's, 'A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar): A Contribution to the History of India' is the main work regarding the matter accessible to English readers of the last century which has exemplified an interpretation of the

Portuguese Chronicle of Nuniz, one of the key sources of data regarding this matter, Mr. Sewell has supplemented the Portuguese records by data from the inscriptions distributed in the Epigraphia India and in the gem of the Biblisintic Society, from coins, and from Firishta and different sources, and his own particular nearby information has empowered him to supply valuable notes on the geology. The question of proof of both Arabic geographers and voyagers and Persian history specialists focuses to Ma'bar as a major aspect of the Malabar drift, and Colonel Briggs' guess, bolstered by Mr Sewell, that Kafur's mosque at ' Ramessar ' was at the point a while later called Cape Ramas has much to support it.

‘A Little-Known Chapter of Vijayanagar History’, by S. Krishna Swamy Aiyangar⁵⁵ was assessed by M. Longworth Dames in 1916; this work manages the historical backdrop of the colossal Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, which had a significant influence in the occasions of the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Outside the pages of archaeological reports, Mr Krishna Swamy Aiyangar has here collected from inscriptions and different sources a vast assortment of realities which add extensively to the current load of data: These bear chiefly on the arrangement of transformations which set up the Saluva family in control. The question of fragments and their relation to the whole is discussed here. The first of these kings and two of his successors bore the name of Narasimha, which was taken by the Portuguese and different Europeans to be the name of the kingdom instead of its sovereign. Henceforth we read of the nation of Narsinga, of which the capital was Bisnaga (Vijayanagara). This is a watchful and valuable bit of research.

The Book of Duarte Barbosa: An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and Their Inhabitants by Duarte Barbosa checked on by Mansel Longworth Dames, The Book of Duarte Barbosa: Vol. I: Including the Coasts of East Africa, Arabia, Persia, and Western India to the extent the Kingdom of

⁵⁵ M. Longworth Dames Reviewed work(s): *A Little-Known Chapter of Vijayanagar History* by S. Krishna Swamy Aiyangar Source: *Man*, Vol. 18, (Jul., 1918), Pp. 111-121 Published by: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

Vijayanagara. His details on men of low degree who acts as messengers and go safely without molestation from any one of the high ways and during the war also throws special light on Patels and he conjecture that they are tribes of Maharashtra, were quasi-sacrosanct, who risk their lives in safe keeping the treasures of kings and their transition. His works are quite important because he lived in South India in the years between 1500 and 1516 A.D. The Spanish to Portuguese translation was made by Longworth Dames. Dames made it worthy by means of paying much attention to descriptions of ports and cities visited by the author.

A.L. Basham explored work, *Economic Life in the Vijayanagar Empire* of T. V. Mahalingam. This work is a continuation of Dr Mahalingam's prior *Administration and Social Life Under Vijayanagar* (Madras, 1940)⁵⁶. The creator has gathered whatever data might be acquired from the numerous contemporary inscriptions and artistic sources, and from the records of Muslim and European voyagers, on the farming, exchange, and fabricates of the last incredible Hindu domain. His work is insightful and exhaustive, in any case, through no blame of his own, baffling, for it indicates how inadequate are our sources for the financial history of Hindu India, even at this late period. Dr Mahalingam has been constrained by his material to lounge chair the greater part of his decisions when all is said in done terms, or as probabilities, and it is obvious that inquiries, for example, the populace or way of life of any piece of Hindu India whenever can in any case just be addressed likely. The headings of the book's six sections are adequate to demonstrate its substance: 'The Country and the People', 'Agribusiness and Land Tenures', 'Businesses', 'Exchange and Commerce', 'Tax collection, Currency, and Measures', and 'The State and Economic prosperity'. The work is strikingly free from partiality for the past, and its creator has made great utilization of troublesome material.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

‘Vijayanagara: Authority and Meaning of a South Indian Imperial Capital’ Authored John M. Fritz⁵⁷ gives the source for the overall authenticated lay out Vijayanagara basin and its measurements through noting different authors and historians like Longhurst 1917, and Devakunjari 1970; in addition, Michell and Filliozat 1981 and Fritz, Michell, and Nagaraja Rao 1985. Naipaul [1977:4-9], Stein (1980:23), Appadurai (1978:51), analyses that Vijayanagara is a "Segmentary state", consisting of relatively autonomous polities "structurally as well as morally coherent units in themselves" and there was no single, incorporated, perpetual bureaucratic association. However a transitory connection of neighbourhood gatherings, legitimately established by, or for the sake of, the king, and engaged to make public decisions on particular issues." The Vijayanagara state was constituted by the recognition of these groups of a "sacred ruler whose overlordship is of a moral sort, and is expressed in an essentially ritual idiom."

‘History of Medieval Deccan’, by Dr R. Subrahmanyam⁵⁸ deals clearly with Vijayanagar felt that it was proper to consider these for the entire locale and period, as opposed to treating the social and cultural angles separate sections for every tradition as was done in Dr Yazdani's early history. We may also trace the relation between these nayakas and the central power. In one inscription (395) Tirumalai-nayakas stated to be the agent of Narasa-nayaka of the Tuluva dynasty (regent of the last king of the Saluva dynasty) and in another, Isvara nayaka, a brother of Tirumalai-nayaka, is also said to be the agent of Narasa-nayaka. However, all these nayakas need not necessarily be in direct relationship with the central power.

“Religion in Vijayanagara Empire” by Konduri Sarojini Devi was reviewed by R. Champakalakshmi⁵⁹, the works on religion in pre-modern south India have

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ see G. Yazdani, *History of Medieval Deccan (1295-1724)*. 2 vols. xvi, 653 pp. Hyderabad: Government of AP. 1973, 1974 published in 1975.

⁵⁹ Konduri Sarojini Devi, *Religion in Vijayanagara Empire*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1990, P.309.

generally concentrated on the histories of individual religions such as Vaishnavism, Saivism, Jainism and Buddhism and often covered a long chronological span-from the 'earliest times' to the Vijayanagara period. Few have taken up specific dynastic periods for the study of religions and religious institutions. This, in itself, would seem to provide a valid reason for studies of the present variety to be undertaken. Konduri Sarojini Devi has chosen to present an overview of the religion and religious institutions during the three centuries of Vijayanagara reign, thereby filling, in a sense, what may be perceived as a major lacuna in Vijayanagara studies.

The Hindu character of Vijayanagara being her major premise, Sarojini Devi sets forth in the introduction the background to her narrative by tracing the series of events leading to the foundation of Vijayanagara, i.e. the Muslim invasions under the Khaljis and Tughlaqs against the 'independent' Hindu kingdoms of the Deccan and Tamil region, some of which held 'the flag of Hindu independence' like, Kampili, to which the Sangama brothers and later founders of Vijayanagara belonged. While emphasizing the role of the Sangama brothers as the 'architects of the Hindu revival', it is claimed that their protection of the *varna* was aimed maintaining 'the pristine purity' of the Hindu religion (dharma) from the influence of Islam.

Anila Verghese's 'Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara: As Revealed through its Monuments'⁶⁰ was reviewed in detail by Subhakanta Behera. The primacy of religion in ancient and medieval Indian state and society is fairly accomplished. There are even many examples in which religion has determined the trajectory of state policy. Along these lines, religion in India has constantly involved state focus for the two history experts and social anthropologists. The idea of state and religion, base and sacrosanct in India, with regard to the nature and commonwealth of a kingdom now and then turns into a student of history's unimportant mystery or guess best case

⁶⁰ *Religious Traditions at Vijayanagara: As Revealed through its Monuments* by Anila Verghese. Vijayanagara Research Project Monograph Series, vol. 4. New Delhi: Manohar, 1995. Xii, Pp. 285.

scenario, except if religion and its interfacing with that state are questioned. Vital as well as religiously huge for its overwhelmingly Hindu nature. In spite of the fact that there is as yet a discussion going ahead finished the religious arrangement of the domain, history specialists, all things considered, concur that the realm secured Hindu confidence and culture and helped protect old Hindu standards and sovereignty, law and equity. In this manner, the significance of religion in the Vijayanagara realm can't be overlooked or externally contemplated.

This is an imperative expansion to the immense corpus of existing historiography on the Vijayanagara domain as in it is a monograph only committed to the investigation of various religious conventions that prospered or existed amid the period and is constructed essentially with respect to archaeological sources (surviving landmarks and models) and various inscriptions found on them. Be that as it may, as Verghese notices, not a solitary Hindu religious faction prevailed the whole time of the realm. Verghese takes us on an authentic voyage through the development, support, and blooming of every religious custom in the Vijayanagara domain and the meantime, through the states of the non-Hindu religions, for example, Jainism, Islam and Christianity. Verghese talks about Shaivite conventions of the domain, including the Virupaksha⁶¹, Bhairava, Virabhadra, Ganesa, Kartikeya, and other minor cliques. Most imperative, as Verghese says, the Narasimha faction, speaking to the man-lion *avatar* of Lord Vishnu, got incredible support from the Saluva and Tuluva rulers. Verghese likewise examines the relationship of different destinations of the domain with the Ramayana scenes, the eight Rama temples and people in general support of this religion.

⁶¹ Although it could not rival the Virupakshacult in importance, it enjoyed popularity in Vijayanagara due to the fact that Narasimha suited the temper of the times well.

However, according to Verghese, both the Krishna and Vithala⁶² cults were "imported," and, hence, "after 1565 A.D. when temples were desecrated and the patronage ceased, these cults became extinct at the site". With a spate of archaeological proof, Verghese has demonstrated that the Sri-Vaishnavism religion was the main order amid the Saluva and Tuluva periods. Verghese's book is the understanding that one gets into lesser-referred to minor Hindu customs, for example, Harihara, Hanuman, *Chaturvimsatimurtis* and *Dasavataras* of Vishnu, *Gramadevis*, Nagas, and Sati adore, and additionally non-Hindu religious conventions, for example, Jainism, Islam, and Christianity that existed in the Vijayanagara realm. Once more, since Verghese's work depends on investigations of surviving religious landmarks, inscriptions, and models, the perusers get an extremely target perspective of the issues talked about. One unquestionably discovers that the Vijayanagara state was sufficiently tolerant to permit non-Hindu religions to exist or even develop. Verghese's book likewise draws out the organization, expound ceremonies, and different celebrations saw in sanctuaries, move, and music custom in religious and open circles and presume that the majority of this exhibits the power and imperativeness of religious life in Vijayanagara.

Sanjay Subrahmanyam's *Reflections on making of state and making of history in Southern India, 1500-1800*, work is worried about early modern southern India, and specifically, the zones managed by Vijayanagara, the Senji Nayakas and the Arcot Nawabs⁶³. Positivists history specialists⁶⁴ have regularly attempted to comprehend about these writings, asking essentially whether they are "facts" or "lies," and frequently dismissing them an entire deal for the more "solid" stone and copper-plate based inscriptions.

⁶² The Krishna and Vithala cults came into prominence during the Tuluva period. The great King Krishnadevaraya propagated and fostered the Krishna cult and constructed the great Krishna temple in 1515.

⁶³ The historiographical overview in Alam and Subrahmanyam 1998.

⁶⁴ For an overview of the context in which such texts were produced, see Cruz 1995.

The work contends against the gap in south Indian history between "textualists", who read account writings, and "epigraphers", who incline toward the "hard" proof of inscriptions, and fights that any broad recorded examination should fundamentally be founded on a perusing of the two types of materials. In this unique circumstance, the work builds up the contention for the development of a specifically verifiable reluctance in early current south India, both in the Perso-Islamic⁶⁵ and the vernacular customs, and in their interface. It would normally be enticing to see matters as far as a progression of expressive structures, everyone effectively lastly uprooting its antecedents, yet it is recommended that the substances one experiences are preferably more intricate than this model would propose. This repudiates with the fight in south Indian history between "textualists", who read story writings, and "epigraphers"⁶⁶, who incline toward the "hard" proof of inscriptions. For reasons unknown, the more noteworthy number of history specialists who have utilized inscriptions have wanted to settle on the fairly faulty "including" approach, which the inscriptions are first displayed in an uncovered rundown, and afterward the substantives (dates, put names, income terms) secluded for a pretty much thorough measurable examination.

Alexandra Mack's work "One Landscape, Many Experiences: Differing Perspectives of the Temple Districts of Vijayanagara" clarifies that scenes have various implications relying upon the points of view of the individuals who encounter them. The scene of the fourteenth to the sixteenth century south Indian capital of Vijayanagara was the setting for vital legendary occasions, exchanges of intensity between the world-class, custom and journey for fans, and standard day by day exercises for inhabitants.

⁶⁵ These materials are of the Mughal conquest are used extensively in Richards 1975, as also in Nayeem 1985.

⁶⁶ Anna Libera Dallapiccola, Stephanie Zingel-Avé Lallemand, Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, The Hampi, 1985.

This work investigates these diverse perspectives of the urban scene through examination of oral conventions and chronicled information, appraisal of engineering and get to and directing, and archaeological examination of crushing stones and earthenware production. To extrapolate and comprehend the mind-boggling impression of a mutual situation, numerous informational indexes must be utilized. Individually, each data set grants insight into a distinct perspective on the landscape in which those activities and experiences took place; as a whole, they provide details about a range of activities and experiences. Multiple lines of evidence from Vijayanagara, the south Indian city which served as both a centre of government and a pilgrimage site between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, demonstrate how each discrete experience of the past also created a different impression of the landscape. At Vijayanagara, an officially sensational scene was controlled to advance authenticity and power for lords and custom and love for fans, in the shadow of these sanctuaries, the physical scene went up against altogether extraordinary implications, contingent upon the status and point of view of the perceiver. Different forms of archaeological data provide insight into these distinct perspectives in a way that a single line of evidence cannot. Reconstructing the activities and experiences of the different actors requires analysis of the different sources that inform on the past, as well as an understanding of the interactions between these sources. Constructing the environment involves understanding the cultural, historical, and archaeological context of the past.

Thus, while archaeology may provide evidence that is not otherwise accessible through the historic record the inverse is also true, in that history and other sources may provide evidence that is not available through the archaeological record. At Vijayanagara, documentary evidence in the form of inscriptions and the structural evidence of buildings show the elite view of a landscape of power. While non-elite visitors and residents are not as well represented in the historical record, their experience is recorded archaeologically by the paths they walked, the neighbourhoods they lived in, and the artefacts they used to support their daily tasks.

Summary of the chapter:

In this chapter, we can understand that the weight of historiography that has conditioned history writing is primarily because of the establishment of certain set patterns that continue to inform us about the idea of Vijayanagara that were the products of orientalism and nationalist historiography. Beginning with the identification of Vijayanagara as a Hindu empire and also as a centralized state and further as a thriving urban metropolis is a model which is provided by earlier works, and this becomes a set foundation on which the later writings are conditioned. Concepts like feudalism and the idea of segmentary state are all derived from these categories based on a rereading of primary sources leading to the sets of ideas that conditioned the questions.

CHAPTER-III

URBANISATION AND URBAN CENTRES **IN MEDIEVAL INDIA WITH SPECIAL** **REFERENCE TO SOUTH INDIA**

Introduction:

The question of urbanization in medieval India has occupied centre stage because of the discontinuities in Indian history after the Indus Valley Civilization and the urbanization in the early historic period and the urbanization in medieval India, therefore, does not have continuity and is seen as a historical break after a hiatus of more than a thousand years as we did not have any urban centres after the decline of the Indus Valley civilization. One of the entry points on the question of urbanization of medieval India is associated with the notion of the Delhi Sultanate and by extension with the later writings on the question of an Islamic city. While the idea of an Islamic city occupied considerable space in the discussions on a model of urbanization that was undertaken by the Muslim dynasties in large parts of the Afro-Asiatic world, has met with considerable opposition. Janet Abu Lughod in a seminal work on the question of the ideal Islamic city pointed out that the four important aspects of an Islamic city, the mosque, the market, the fort and the Islamic seminary or madrasa were all generalizations which were not present in all parts of Arabia but in the cities of North Africa, and therefore these generalizations were applied to all parts of the urbanization process that was undertaken by the Muslim rulers. In India, this question also met with the decline of feudalism and the revival of cities.

In the case of South India, it does not apply because of the negligible presence of Muslim dynasties before the medieval period, and secondly, the question of feudalism also has received a considerable on account of the thriving urban centres in the river valleys of South India where the urban centres here were the nagarams. It is in keeping with these two disagreements that a historiographic debate on the nature of urbanization in South India has emerged. The crux of the issue is the differential evolution of the city in South India based on the surplus of river valleys which is said here in the context of the larger question of urbanization in India.

3.0.0 Urbanization

An urban centre seems to possess two basic features, one is a dense concentration of population within a defined and also limited space, and the other is a predominantly non-cultivating character of the population (S. Misra 1991)⁶⁷. Hence urban focus has an unmistakable man-space proportion and a heterogeneous word related character. The causative factors and the reason for urban growth are authoritative, religious, military vital and market accessibility. Urban focuses are differed by their size and nature of reason and recognized under the classifications of towns, urban areas and metro polis. The perspectives of medieval urbanization have been distinguished by various scholars, especially the European researchers, Wilkinson, (1982), Potter, (1985), Schiffer, (1987), O 'Meara (1999), Smith (2002) etc., as generally drawn inductions from the European challenge except Childe (1950, 1985) and the concurrence on the idea of urbanization was relatively exceptional.

⁶⁷ A population density measure (5000 people at a density of at least 1000 per square mile) and a minimum of 75% of the adult males engaged in nonagricultural occupations (Potter, 1985, p. 20).

Urbanism in the Indian subcontinent can be seen in three distinct periods of time. They are Indus period (2500-1900 B.C.), Early Historic period (3rd c BC to 4th c AD) and Mughal period (16th and 17th centuries AD)⁶⁸. All the three periods indicate exceptional highlights of urbanization, similar to extensive scale development of individuals to stream banks and beach front regions in the skirt of farming and exchange. The important foundations for restoration developments are Religious assemblage among urban territories and solid political streams. Evidently there,e are other social, practical and religious causes that incited urban living arrangement shift fundamentally.

A survey of archaeological and historical evidence from the Early Historic (500 BC- 500 AD) through the Medieval period (AD 500-1600) features numerous topics. Some of them are cities which are modified and extended for the next part of generation for business sectors; the unstable connection between long-remove trade and neighborhood power, and monetary base; the escalation of creation; and the changing parts of monastery foundations viz., cloisters, sanctuaries and guild (Kathleen D. Morrison, and Lycet 1997)⁶⁹

3.1.0 Urban centres in Early India: Indus Period

The early Indian progress, the Indus (Harappa) period (2500-1900B .C.) was first known to the universe of history, by the unearthings at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa in 1924, by Sir John Marshal. Indus valley development was substantial scale urbanization in the develop Harappa period of 2500-1900

⁶⁸ Traditionally, scholars of South Asia have identified two phases of early urbanism (i) Bronze Age Indus (Harappan) period, c. 2500-1900B.C. and the Early Historic priod (c. 3rd century B.C. to 4th century A.D.; e.g., Allchin, 1995; Champakalakshmi, 1996; Ghosh, 1973; Jansen,1993a; Sharma,1991). To this can be added a distinct Medieval period (c. 9th-16th centuriesA. D.), with its substantial fortified population centers at sites Such as Agra, Delhi and Vijayanagara. Heitzman, 1997, p. 82.

⁶⁹ The Archaeology of South Asian Cities Author(s): Monica L. Smith Source: Journal of archaeological Research, Vol. 14, No. 2 (June 2006).

B.C with something like 5 urban areas with zone scope of 50-160 ha⁷⁰. The prominent five urban communities of Indus valley development are Dholavira, Ganweriwal, Harappa, Mohenjo-Daro and Rakhigarhi. The principle urban attributes of these urban communities are gridded road designs, walled regions, substantial scale open engineering like showers, sewerages, petition houses, formal citadels...etc.

Harappa estimated 150 ha and Rakigarhi was 80 - 150 ha, Ghaneriwala is 81.5 to 100 ha, Dholavaira is 60-100ha, Mohenjodaro was 100-200ha. It has been clear that Harappan development had its specialities and merchandise over the zone estimating 5,00,00 km. There are in excess of 1500 settlements recorded, and 60% of settlements were exhumed. The last period of occupation was noted at 2500-1700BC⁷¹. Unearthings at all the five noteworthy urban abodes of Harappan human progress uncover that.

“Indus areas were extensive population centers in which the built environment includes the markers of social stratification and craft specialization as well as evidence for sophisticated engineering and technology (Possehl,1998, p. 274)

The evidence of Indus cities shows that they were politically centralised and administrated. They also contrast by being independent principalities, more or less considered as the concept of State or empire. The defensive style of architecture and walled cities, for instance, reveal their political relationship with vassal regions. The craft diversity indicates heterogeneous people, massive constructions their labor division and exploitation and presence of slavery. It is also evident that the market is elite in nature being linked with more luxurious items. The urban centers have some unique features to

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

distinguish themselves from the hinter lands. The emblems of authority portrayed show the idea of "community rather than master slave relationship, in a nutshell, Indus civilization was significant in urban ethos and urban cities' maintenance.

There was an absence of a solitary overwhelming chain of importance inside urban communities by the standard archaeological proportions of huge tombs, brought together royal residences, and open momentous iconography of rulers⁷² perhaps like the early populace focuses of West Africa.

3.1.1 Second Urbanization:

Rise of cities in North India during 6th C B.C.

This phase starts with the beginning of urban centres in the Ganga valley after a hiatus of a millennium.

- The Early Eminent time allotment (500 BC- 500 AD) has concentrated on the Gangetic plain, the region with the principle evidence for urban zones after the complete of Harappan urbanism in the second thousand years BC⁷³. The Gangetic "second urbanization" has been an essential point of convergence of archaeological research in South Asia since its beginnings under English government (Chakrabarti 1988).
- In the earlier century, unearthings have been done at urban centres, for example, Ahichchatra (Ghosh and Panigrahi 1946), Rajagriha (Ghosh 1951, Chakrabarti 1976),

⁷² Commerce and Culture in South Asia: Perspectives from Archaeology and History Author(s): Kathleen D. Morrison, Source: Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol. 26 (1997), pp. 87-108.

⁷³ The Archaeology of South Asian Cities Author(s): Monica L. Smith Source: Journal of Archaeological Research, Vol. 14, No. 2 (June 2006).

- Hastinapura (Lal 1955),
- Kausambi (Sharma 1960, 1969),
- Ujjain (Banerjee 1965)⁷⁴,
- Vaisali (Krishna Deva & Misra 1961, Sinha & Roy 1969),
- Pataliputra (Sinha & Narain 1970),
- Rajghat (Narain & Roy 1976, 1977; Narain & Singh 1977),
- Atranjikhhera (Gaur 1983),
- Mathura (Joshi 1989),
- Sringaverapura (Lal 1993).

All this give credence to the approximately 130 locales dating to between 200 BC and AD 300 that have been exhumed (Sharma 1994, Allchin 1995) gave the most punctual Notable antiquarianism in north India. (Kathleen D. Morrison, 1997) ⁷⁵

Since sixth century B.C., second urbanization began in and along the Gangetic fields. The urban territories gave expansive scale system to monetary and social ties. The conditions contrasting in this period from the prior is the nonappearance of the centralised political arrangement of power over the urban focuses. Mauryan Empire, the rise of dynastic rulers related to urban areas, for example, Taxila, Ujjain, and Pataliputra are the fundamental driver for this kind of urbanization in this period. The second urbanisation cities represent religious and political developments, for example, early Buddhist period, later Buddhist period and Vedic Evangelist periods.

The basic characteristics of this urbanization were river side dwellings with high fortress, walled urban communities and sanctuary dependant

⁷⁴ Kathleen D. Morrison, *Op.cit*, Pp. 89-98.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

economies. The domains housed these urban focuses are Gupta in the North, Ikshavakus, Vakatakas, Chalukyas and Satavahanas in the South.

Early historic sites accomplished a noteworthy size 300 ha for Mathura in the Ganges Valley, possibly the greatest of the archaeologically known Early historic urban territories (Archeological survey of India, 1973-1974), 200 ha for Kausambi, furthermore in the Ganges Valley 160 ha (Erdosy, 1988), 130 ha for Sisupalgarh in eastern India (Lai, 1949; M. L. Smith, 2002), totally there are 60 or more at the same time involved urban communities extending from 50-650 ha are available all through the Indian subcontinent.⁷⁶

This scrappy provincial archeological picture recommends a scene of variable populace thickness with nodal urban communities assuming key parts as government head-quarters and law of creation, trade, and utilization (Sharma 1994). In any case, despite the vigorous archaeological and printed prove for energetic urban focuses, an annoying partiality against the sight of Indian urban areas as an "extremely" urban, a bias is visible from Karl Marx ahead (Morrison 1994, O'Leary 1989), depends upon the archaeological writing. Erdosy (1988), for instance, asserts that Early Notable urban areas "never met the criteria set by Weber for really urban settlements despite their fleeting greatness. Society remained correspondingly idle without the improvement anticipated from its biggest assemblages of populaces". He proceeds to assert that urban areas proved unable to "free themselves from the political forces that made them in any case"⁷⁷.

Urban communities and states of the Deccan and the far south do seem later than the communities of the Gangetic plain. What's more, a long way from speaking to free improvements, these destinations contain undeniable evidence of communication with the states, domains, and religious

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

foundations. More established investigations of towns focused on external influence for the improvement of complicated political association of districts (Kosambi 1989, Pannikar 1956; Thapar 1984), with which exchange is seen as the primary explanation behind the political and monetary changes. The progressions that happened are instantly previously and incidental to the foundation of the Satavahana dynasty in the Deccan. Institutional Buddhism is additionally allotted as the main part in this exchange development. This southern lack of involvement and impediment see has been progressively tested (Parasher 1994, Parasher Sen 1993) in this stage, can be considered as one of the intrinsic reasons. Huge changes in rural association and settlement seem to originate before the Early Notable, and existing Megalithic or Iron Age settlements. They demonstrate the level of rank separation as well as financial advancement as opposed to poor picture (Morrison 1995b, Parasher Sen 1993)⁷⁸.

A thorough reading of above facts in the light of literature can be concluded that the urbanization in India in the phases of Indus valley, early historic and early to late Buddhist periods (i.e. 6th B.C to 5th A.D) are of prominently trade and of religious.

The urbanization in the periods of early historic period, later historic period and early Islamic periods have been the onus of the scholars like Burgess (1883), Dehejia (1972), Gunawardana (1979), Nagaraju (1981), Thapar (1984) Kulke & Rothermund (1986), Ray (1986) Sarao (1990), Willis (1992), Ishii (1993), Eaton (1993), Chakrabarti (1995), Risso (1995); Barnes (1995), Dehejia (1999).

⁷⁸ Ibid.

3.1.3 Urbanisation during Delhi Sultanate

Urbanization in the first millennium and periods later up to the arrival of Europeans are said to be the periods of Delhi Sultanate and Mughal and greater Mughal periods. These three phases can be considered as the most vigorous and vast urbanization periods.

It is significant again that numerous contentions about the sudden spread of Islam push its uncommon proclivity to exchange and brokers (Risso 1995, and see Ibrahim 1990, Reid 1993b) and its urban character (cf Eaton 1993). (Morrison, 1997).

Iltutmish, the primary sovereign leader of Delhi, is the originator of the Sultanate of Delhi. He is given credit for making tough establishments; arranging the administrator Allauddin's twenty-year reign involved unending military movement in India. The subsequent acquisitions can be delegated zones recouped, regions naturally vanquished and added, and states repressed yet not added. The most important recouped zones were Jaisalmer, Ranthambore and Malwa. Thereupon and after most considerable, critical and recently vanquished region was Gujarat. Its addition brought the sultanate a territory wealthy in characteristic assets and additionally the advantages of broad oceanic exchange. Chittore likewise came into the control faithful Rajput administration in the later occasions. The states quelled yet not attached, incorporate the three kingdoms of the Deccan and southern India: Deogir governed by the Yadavas; Telingana controlled by the Gajapatis⁷⁹; and Dwarsamudra led by the Hoysalas. Allauddin's principle objectives with respect to these rich kingdoms were to acquire however much tribute as could be expected and to anchor their accommodation to Delhi's suzerainty and organization and to develop himself like statesman of fundamental political approaches.

⁷⁹ Riazul Islam and C. E. Bosworth *The Delhi Sultanate*, Motilal Banarsidas, New Delhi, 1999, p.269.

The pattern towards urbanization, the state annals and the records of outside guests, for example, the Moroccan Writer Ibn Batuta affirm this⁸⁰. Two fascinating bits of proof is the continually expanding size of the congregational mosques and the association of general transportation into the city of Delhi, with settled charges from and to different focuses; the last demonstrates the development in the span of the city.

Ibn Batuta projected Delhi as the biggest city in India as well as in the whole Islamic East. The expansion in the populace and the development of a substantial number of urban communities prompted the advancement and enhancement of ventures and specialities. Of specific significance were cotton textures, smooth stuff, floor coverings, woollens, ironware, calfskin product and sugar-production⁸¹. Indian equipment accomplished incredible distinction, creating damascened steel which had overall notoriety alongside numerous different ventures and specialities.

The size of enhancement of sustenance generation can be understood from Ibn Fadl with its specify of 21 assortments of rice and 65 assortments of desserts. In exchange and trade, the most outstanding gatherings were the Banjaras, who disseminated expansive amounts of grain everywhere throughout the land and are persistently specified in annals and Amir Khusrau's *mathnavis*⁸². The vendors, particularly the acclaimed Multani dealers, who were worried about inside and also outside the exchange, additionally assumed an imperative part.

They commenced the imports of fine material for Sara-I-Adl showcase. The brokers, the Multani moneylenders and the cash changers gave keeping money administrations which incredibly encouraged business exchanges in the nation. The expanded pace of creation prompted certain innovative

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ The history of Civilisation of central Asia, Vol.IV, Ed. MS Asimov, C E Bosworth & Bansaridas, 1999.

⁸² Ibid.

advances. The presentation of the cotton-carder's bow and the turning wheel, for instance, added to the extension of the material business. The presentation of the genuine curve, arch and vault encouraged the development of extensive structures; Zia-ud-din Barani⁸³ notices that Allauddin Khalji utilized upwards of 70,000 skilled workers for the development of his structures.

3.1.4 Urbanisation under the Mughals

The towns like Delhi and Lahore in Mughal domain go under the class of royal towns. The managerial towns clearly worked as focuses of administration. The religious focuses were pre-prominent explorer attractions, as Varanasi and Mathura. The military or key towns were produced basically as military territory, and instantly ended up regular citizen settlements, towns like Attock and Asirgarh represent this portrayal. Urban focuses with substantial scale business exercises draw in all sort of exercises at one place and the Mughal Realm towns like Patna and Ahmedabad are best case of this.

The majority of the towns had a type of a stronghold divider with at least one doors. The principle populace of the city lived inside these dividers. With the development of towns now and again the urban areas exceeded their dividers. The case of a regular Mughal town can be found in the portrayal of Agra toward the start of the seventeenth century. John Jourdain portrays the city Agra⁸⁴.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Franz Rosenthal, A History of Muslim Historiography, Part 1, The Introductory Chapter.

"The city is 12 courses in length by the stream side, which is over 16 miles; and at the tightest place, it is three miles wide. It is walled. However, suburban area joined to the dividers, that were it not for the doors you couldn't know when you were inside the dividers or without".

Numerous Mughal urban areas like Delhi, Agra, Patna, Ahmedabad and Allahabad created out of rural areas around the constructed dividers of illustrious strongholds, greenery enclosures and royal residences. In Mughal towns, shops could be found on the two sides of the fundamental streets where markets were legitimately laid, and retailers were living either beside shops or on the main floor of the shops. A considerable lot of these business sectors had practical experience in a specific ware. Names of different zones recommend their claim to fame of item for instance in Agra-*Loha Gali* (metal objects), *cheeni tole* (sugar bazaar), *Halla mandi* (grain showcase), *dal mandi* (beats advertise), *sabun Kutra* (cleanser showcase) *nil para* (indigo market) in Delhi. *Jam bazar* (adornments), *sabzi mandi* (vegetable mart), *churiwala* (bangles), and so forth and Paharganj was a discount showcase for grain⁸⁵.

The local locations of towns called "Mohalla" were regularly recognized by the expert gatherings that dwelled there. A couple of names like *mahalla kunjrah*, *mowhiwara* (shoemakers), *mahalla zargaran* (goldsmiths) *kucha rangrezan* (dyers)⁸⁶ are remarkable. Mughal towns have the nearness of *sarais* which were stopping places for dealers or explorers. The bigger towns like Delhi, Agra, Patna, Lahore or Ahmedabad had *sarais* by the handfults. Nobles, Imperial women, huge shippers or the state itself took up the activity of developing these *sarais*. These were overseen by the groups of *bhatiyaras* who particular as guardians of *sarais*.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

The urban populace was not homogenous. They include every one of the general population intentionally who originated from the tremendous territories of the kingdom. The larger part populace accumulate in urban territories can be named Nobles and their retainers, authorities of the state and troops, dealers, *sarrafs*, agents, religious, artists, painters, writers, doctors, craftsmen and others in various classes. Bernier (1658) accounts assessed the aggregate quality of. Shah Jahan's awesome camp was around 3-4 lakh, Ahmedabad has 84 ranks and sub-castes of Hindu dealers alone. In 1640 in Patna there were 600 specialists and 200 food merchants, Jodhpur has 600 shops⁸⁷ and individuals associated with the callings of learning, writing, craftsmanship, music, and prescription.

In the Moghul towns craftsmen are the larger part of the populace and their tendency of training, they are singular craftsmen working at their own places and offering their products, Craftsman working in the *karkhanas* of the rulers and, nobles, and in substantial scale building. Developments are embraced by the rulers and nobles. There was an expansive workforce of semi-talented and untalented labourers utilized in shipbuilding, precious stone mining, saltpeter⁸⁸ and salt making. The *Tabqat-I Akbari* (1593) gauges that Akbar's period has around 120 major urban areas and 3200 residential communities.

⁸⁷ Economic Diversity and Integration in a Pre-Colonial Indian Empire Kathleen D. Morrison; Carla M. Sinopoli Source: World Archaeology, Vol. 23, No. 3, Archaeology of Empires (Feb., 1992).

⁸⁸ Ibid.

TOWN	POPULATION	YEAR OF ESTIMATE*
AGRA	5,00,000	1609
AGRA	6,66,000	1629-43
AGRA	8,00,000	1666
DELHI	5,00,000	1659-66
AHAMADABAD	1,00,000	1613
SURAT	1,00,000	1600
SURAT	2,00,000	1663
PATNA	2,00,000	1631

****The figures are taken from Irfan Habib, Cambridge Economic History of India,***

In the Mughal time frame, urban life is rich to Eminence and nobles and direct regular man. Shireen Moosvi has examined the example of utilization of the 'Eminence' and the nobles which mirrors the idea of the way of life the 'Sovereignty' and the Mughal nobles. Bernier⁸⁹ states that "unexpectedly the vast majority of them are profoundly paying off debtors; they are destroyed by the exorbitant presents made to the ruler and by their expansive foundation, thus, squeezed them to separate more from the labourers than the required duty".

⁸⁹ Ibid.

3.1.5 Large scale Urbanization under the Great Mughals

The blooming of an urban-based economy and urban culture amid the matchless patronage of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shahjahan, and for a lot of amazingness of Aurangzeb, got to a great extent from the thriving of political conditions very useful to business and the exchanging and craftsman classes of the urban areas. The urban focuses are varied in the Medieval Mughal India, are four particular sorts of towns.

To start with, there were those urban communities whose driving capacity was managerial and where different parts producing or sacral were of minor significance as well and were somewhat subject to the essential part, of such kind were Agra and Delhi. Besides, there were those urban areas getting a charge out of a fundamentally business and assembling character, to which may have been appended managerial capacities which then again, stayed auxiliary to their financial capacities. Ahmedabad fell under this class. Thirdly, there was the situation of journey focuses where exchange and art exercises were attracted to where there was at that point a collection of both undeviating settled and vaporous populace as on account of Banaras, strategically placed in connection to the significant stream frameworks of North India. Here the nearness to stream helped business intercourse, and unvarying swarming of explorers captivated artworks and administration initiates from the neighbouring regions or considerably additionally off locale.

There were port towns like Cambay and Surat, the opening out of both long separation exchange inside India itself and India's worldwide exchange with a commercial system of Asian and European markets, and at last, in light of the last mentioned, a gigantic development of all parts of material assembling and showcasing.

Royal *Karkhanahs* - The family units of Mughal sovereigns contained numerous *Karkhanahs*. Abul Fazl⁹⁰ composed that Akbar kept up more than one hundred and every last one of them "took after a city or rather a little state". These were places where work was done, and those in the Magnificent family unit can be partitioned into three gatherings.

The main city comprised of the workshops devoted to the necessities of the magnificent family. There were stables of ponies, elephants, bovines, camels, and donkeys' storerooms, workshops, shipper and *Karkhanahs*. In Mughal India there was a reasonable qualification among vendors and merchants, from one perspective and, financiers (*Sarafs*)⁹¹ and moneylenders (*Sahukar*) on the other. Moneylenders put out little aggregates to workers, fighters and merchants while financiers acknowledged stores issued bills of trade and lent substantial entireties to authorities and nobles. Financiers propelled cash to the vendors yet did not, generally, take part in exchanging exercises themselves. Notwithstanding the well-off discount vendors, there appear to have been two different classes of brokers in Mughal India. The unimportant businesspeople in neighbourhood markets acquired their provisions from the vast discount markets for calfskin merchandise, metal utensils, horned steers, sheep and goats, wood, cleanser, fish, cheddar and building materials.

In the urban areas of the Mughal India, urban authorities controlled exchange by indicating the spots where merchandise could be purchased or sold. Dealers were not permitted to offer their merchandise without experiencing the assigned markets. To each market, the *Kotwal* delegated a "Darogah" who set costs and gathered the expenses. Urban markets were separated into *Mahals*. Over each Mahal, the *kotwal* set an official who regulated the

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Commerce and Culture in South Asia: Perspectives from Archaeology and History, Kathleen D. Morrison, Source: Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol. 26 (1997).

Darogahs and gathered the income. Territorial markets remained inside or close-by the majestic castle fortification and the colossal houses. Like neighborhood markets, the territorial market sold grain, fruit, vegetable and fabric yet they contrasted in serving more individuals spread over a bigger region and in giving a more extensive choice of products. Shahjahanabad was additionally at the peak of the chain of the importance of towns and urban communities in North India. It exemplified the whole focal place chain of importance, playing out the financial, managerial, police and religious elements of the considerable number of spots underneath it and also a set particularly its own. Different sorts of business sectors were discovered, for example, Bazaar-I-Khas, Katra, Mandi, Ganj, Dariba, Nakhas, Peth, reasonable (mela)⁹² and regular markets.

The vehicle framework is produced by Shershah and Akbar are exceptionally noticeable in the urban improvement of Delhi Sultanate. There are streets between Agra, Ahmedabad, Cambay, Delhi Surat and these streets are connecting these urban areas up to Kandahar, Kabul, Kashmir, Shoharganj. Significant products in the Mughal period are sugar stick, poppy, Indigo, saltpetre, turmeric, press, asafoetida, sugar, tobacco, dried ginger, jasmine oil, silk stuff, vessel making, corn, mango, cowhide, opium, paper, cotton⁹³.

3.2.0 The question of Feudalism and Urbanization in

Early Medieval India

Feudalism and urbanization are reciprocal to each other in all aspects though historiography has differed in a couple of ways while defining the relation of Feudalism and urbanization. The historiographical dividing line delineated colonial historiographers and the rest is their perspective on the subject of

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

economic diversity. Colonial historiographers having successfully equipped themselves with an efficient and hierarchically organized colonial administration enabling them to secure vast revenues records differed with the rest on an issue like urbanisation. The colonial formulations on urbanization have a hand full of ideas, among those, the segmentary state was certainly the one that carried the idea of urbanization decentralization the furthest by Burton Stein's analysis of Vijayanagara in his "Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India" published in 1980.

According to David Shulman⁹⁴, the main features of the segmentary state were as follows.

- 1) A relatively weak centre whose control diminishes consistently with distance, so that one finds a series of relatively autonomous peripheral centres;**
- 2) A tendency for these peripheral centres to 'replicate' the structure of authority evident in the major centre;**
- 3) A pyramid-like organization of the socio-political segments in relation to the central authority**
- 4) A ritual or symbolic hegemony that replaces effective political control as a major integrating force in the polity;**
- 5) A dynamic, shifting, fluctuating system of relations between the various segments, the more peripheral of which can easily switch their allegiance.**

As Burton Stein's, the segmentary state show speaks to, continually advancing urbanization and its appearance on that country, its significance

⁹⁴ Shulman, The King and the Clown: 18–19

ought to be accentuated⁹⁵. All things considered, the portrayal as a kingdom where neighbourhood regions were neither regulatory districts nor nearby manager's bureaucratic operators radiating from the middle⁹⁶, the urbanization is simply of monetary and exchange autonomy.

The medieval worker confronted two contemplations in his counts about a generation: the powerlessness of his product to the vulnerability of the storms and the rendering of the lease to the neighbourhood ruler. His generation techniques were in this way a reaction to the joined impacts of these two limitations. Farming in the South has dependably been essentially subject to the opportune landing of the storm downpours - one in the long stretches of June and July and another in October and November⁹⁷.

Be that as it may, while opportune and sufficient downpours have made for a beneficial agrarian administration, the storms have additionally been a twofold edged sword. The concentrated deluge of the occasional showers conveys the peril of surges to the towns however it is essential for farming. Then again, the flightiness of the downpours likewise makes dry spell a steady risk to the worker. While we don't have a climatic time arrangement for the medieval period, it is far-fetched that the example of downpours was altogether different from that saw in the modern time, when a couple out of like clockwork or so had been set apart by rain disappointment.

⁹⁵ Weber's influence is most vividly felt in Blake, Shahjahanabad where the Mughal Empire is credited with a strong patrimonial administration at the centre which, however, extended only temporarily beyond the core area through increased military and administrative control. As a whole, then, Blake's Mughal state lacked political integration and had to fight ubiquitous centrifugal tendencies

⁹⁶ Southall, Alur Society for the original formulation, and Southall, 'The Segmentary State in Africa and Asia' for its later extension to South Asia.

⁹⁷ Burton Stein, Op.cit.

The administer of the Cholas found some conclusion in the thirteenth century. Never again kept under wraps by the nearness of an overweening force, ground-breaking *nature* launched more aggressive military crusades in their sub-regions, driven, and envisioned, by the possibility of setting up their own particular heredity as the new power; as an outcome, the general level of military clash expanded in South India through the thirteenth and fourteenth hundreds of years (Champakalakshmi, 1987: 101-31)⁹⁸.

The heightening of fighting discovered its attending in a more persistent ambush on worker livelihoods as *nattar* and *Nadu* associations trove to extricate a more prominent surplus to fund their wars. This gave the *nattar* a fortune, as the battling worker networks wound up with close to nothing yet their particular pitiful association to avoid noble requests; yet the long run impacts of constant fighting and labourer agitation ended up sad. As the fourteenth century advanced, South India seemed set to drop into a calamitous winding of war-initiated monetary decay. The decay was prevented by the passage of another power on the South

The combination of Vijayanagara control was the most noteworthy improvement of medieval South Indian history. Enduring generally from AD 1350 to AD 1550, the domain was far more prominent in scope than that of the Cholas, utilized more powerful military and political innovation, and above all for the motivations behind this article - started the progressions which slung South India from its medieval period to the early modern. Chief among these was the quick expansion of horticulture shape the wet riverine tracts which had been the foundation of the Chola realm to the dry fields of the interior celeration of item generation. The rule of the Vijayanagara Empire accordingly denotes the key transitional stage in South Indian history.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

3.2.2 Trade and Rise of Urban centres in Medieval South India

South India shows continuity in urban development from the 5th century B.C. because of the absence of foreign invasions. The classical literature 'Sangam' in the Tamil language provides ample evidence of an independent urban civilization in the South. The major Tamil cities were Madurai, Vanji, Urayur, Puhar and Korkai. Magasthenes account of travels mentions about the southern cities of Madurai and Kanchipuram in the Mauryan court. Kautilya's Arthasastra⁹⁹ too refers to the trade between the Mauryas and the cities of Madurai and Kanchipuram in the 3rd century B.C. The southern cities had trade contacts with the Arabs and later on with Greeks and Romans too, around 1000 B.C.

- (1) Medieval Urbanization might be situated inside a wide time range of six hundred years that describe the Pallava-Pandya lead Chola period (i.e. ninth to eleventh century AD). Amid this time, two segments of trade were generally predominant casual neighbourhood subsistence level trade which was intra-local. This sort of trade depended on deal framework, both in everyday exchanges and between *Tinai* (zone) trade and was generally common in towns that were developed in specific territories limit to 2 ecological-zones¹⁰⁰ - (I) *Marutam* (fields) and (ii) *Neital* (beach front). As the bumpy zones of *Kurinci-Tinai* were especially wealthy in assets, for example, sweet-smelling wood, nectar, wood and paddy, individuals of *Marutam* and *Neital* obtained these assets of slope tracts in return for *Marutam* rice or *Mullai* milk products and *Neital* salt separately.

⁹⁹ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Agreeing to Disagree 'Burtan Stein On Vijayanagara' South Asian Research, Vol.No.17, Autumn (1997).

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

Large-scale exchange of items for stock, and stock for coins at colossal centres of trade at Puhar (Kaveripattinam), Madurai, and Vanji were mostly interregional. Here, paddy, salt, crude materials, merchandise like materials, diamonds and gems were the few made items implied for bigger trade organize, while paper, flavours, pearls, valuable stones (Beryl Jewels and so forth.), sweet-smelling woods and cotton materials were created for foreign trade. During the time spent building up between Tinai trade, scarce urban settlements rose as foci of inter-Tinai business contacts which framed the criteria of present day urban focuses in the inside and furthermore in Marutam and Neital tracts¹⁰¹.

3.2.3 Study of important *nagarams* in Medieval South India

Medieval empires have constraints in dealing with religious subjects. The brahmin supremacy was a long-standing obstacle to the rulers. The modes of production and taxation policies and administrative policies of rulers are covertly aimed at extracting the temple wealth and subsidizing the people with religious celebrations.

The roundabout limitations related to the sanctuary complex includes the second operator in medieval development, namely, the *nagaram*. Sanctuaries may surely have been constrained in their immediate commitment to development; yet in powering the expanded creation of - extravagance merchandise and materials, might they be able to not have by implication contacted off a monetary unique through the *nagarams*. It unquestionably appears to be conceivable to envision that, once settled, the *nagaram* could have turned into the locus for a concentrated distinctive generation, exchange, et cetera and helped in forward and in reverse linkages in the

¹⁰¹ Kathleen D. Morrison, Carla M. Sinopoli, *Op.cit.*

creation chain. In any case, the conditions encompassing the constitution of the *nagaram* blocked any such chain of occasions.

In the first place, the limits with respect to *nagarams* were to encourage general commercialisation of the economy was restricted by the way that there was ordinarily close to one *nagaram* in each *Nadu*. The restraints on the number of *nagarams* require not have been a huge hindrance to trade; the centralisation of business at one territory can in truth be viewed as an instrument for its further advancement. This was probably not going to be so in the Chola time frame is proposed, in any case, by the way in which exchange was directed in the *nagaram*. Business exchanges inside the *nagaram* were led inside barely poetical parameters. Dealers, both neighbourhood and nomad, were banished from having free access to town markets and fairs¹⁰².

All neighbourhood exchanges must be executed through the *nagaram* and its approved traders. Then again, Lobby has additionally illustrated occurrences of nearby makers being told not to offer or deal their items to pariahs¹⁰³. In addition, there is prove at authoritatively settled costs for various items, for example, pepper, curd, spread and lentils [Hall, 1980: 11 8-21; Corridor, 1994:59-60]. What was sold, who sold it, which obtained it, and the cost at which exchanges were directed were accordingly officially settled. This proposes the *nagarams* were less in the matter of advancing exchange as in managing it politically. The essentialness of the *nagarams*' control of business lies in the political conditions inside which they were installed. Corridor has demonstrated that *nagarams* delighted in a specific level of managerial self-rule from the Chola state, in the way of Brahmadeyas and *Nadus* [Hall,

¹⁰² Economic Diversity and Integration in a Pre-Colonial Indian Empire Kathleen D. Morrison; Carla M. Sinopoli; Source: World Archaeology, Vol. 23, No. 3, Archaeology of Empires (Feb., 1992), pp. 335-352.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

1980]¹⁰⁴ this ought not, notwithstanding, be taken as confirmation for honest to goodness political self-sufficiency. Given the ascendance of the *nattar* in the Chola realm, it is amazing to locate a financial establishment free from their impact. There is confirm for visit interview between the *nagaram* and the *Nadu* association on issues of significance for the neighbourhood economy Discussion, be that as it may, require not suggest equity of in support.

Nagaram independence and political circumspection needed to work inside the limits set up by *nattar* control. Lobby himself offers confirm for broad *Nadu* expert over the giving of exchanging rights to vendors and over business exercises all the more for the most part, and infers that 'it was the indigenous regulatory establishment known as the *Nadu* as opposed to a concentrating government which initially incorporated the *nagaram* into the political arrangement of southern India.

Nagaram business exercises were in this manner surrounded by the political intensity of the *nattar*, acting through the *Nadu*¹⁰⁵. It isn't hard to envision why the *nattar* were so worried to check the liberated advancement of trade inside the *Nadu* territory. Increased exchange, if left unregulated, conveyed the capability of making adversaries set up noble networks. New contestants to the positions of the noble class could have originated from neighbourhood and additional nearby traders flourishing from free access to town fairs and makers; then again, they could have originated from the greater labourer makers with access to far off business sectors through the vendors.

¹⁰⁴ Vivek Chibber, "Breaching the Nadu: Lordship and Economic Development in Pre-Colonial South", *JAS*, 26, I, 1998, p.23.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

3.3.0 Summary of Urbanization in India and emergence of towns in Medieval India

The rich alluvial deltas upheld numerous prior South Indian capitals (Spate 1954) before the fifteenth Century. Rich and the ground-breaking relationship of town-based corporate exchange bodies spread their business over the entire South-east Asia region.

As indicated by the engravings that following a between provincial and worldwide exchange nexus of vendors in the whole southern promontory, these exchange bunches gave one of the channels to interpreting Dravidian culture from India to South-east Asia, an overflow and expansion past the subcontinent of early medieval urbanization. Thinking back over the period 500 to 1200 we can see just faintly the legacy of the Gupta brilliant age.

The early medieval period was an unmistakable flight from multiple points of view, and it was the example for future advancement. The regionalization of culture, of religion and governmental issues was the huge procedure of the early medieval age. This kind of incorporating of political, religious and social components was a focal element of the provincial procedure and guaranteed that whatever solidarity is accepted about the established Gupta age was everlastingly broken down in later occasions. With respect to which of the parts of the regionalizing procedures may have been the more vital or deciding political or religious or social - that is exceptionally hard to choose. One can state that the aspiration of neighbourhood boss to wind up rulers gave a lift to the royalisation¹⁰⁶ of the Divine beings and development of sanctuaries. Be that as it may, as said by D.D. Kosambi "if a great want to adore the divine beings had not existed in the bhakti development individuals would not have gone to sanctuary revere". We can state that extended exchange and Jain and

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

Buddhist religious exercises amid and after the Mauryan time frame. India seriously affects the development of societies and states in South-east Asia for a long time.

Diversified speculations led to the triumphs of Indian warriors, Brahmin scholars and the infiltration of Indian dealers¹⁰⁷. Each one of these explanations is proved, though, in all likelihood, real shaper of contact between southeastern India and south-eastern Asia were the endeavours of South-east Asian rulers. They found in India the methods for making incredible authorities of their own, because of contacts with Indian warriors, dealers and Brahmins.

Besides the Chalukyas, Chola Empire also stands as the most notable kingdoms which are a source for Indian town planning. The Chola lord Rajendra points out in a portion of his carvings to win victories in the Malayan peninsula. Some students of history had recommended that he was trying to build up business dominance. The later presentation of Islam into Malaya, Java and Sumatra came additionally from South-East-Asia to India. Muslims were available in India from the season of the establishing of Islam.

India's west drift knew Muslims and others from western Asia as a component of the business development of the early medieval period. Middle Easterner and Jewish traders not just travelled along this drift on the Middle Eastern Ocean, yet some were allowed unique insurance for their religions and were even liberated of duty commitments.

¹⁰⁷ See Kathleen D. Morrison, "Commerce and Culture in South Asia: Perspectives from Archaeology and History", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 26 (1997).

Without a doubt, the raise of a class of landed go-betweens is the significant reason for feudalization. Also, feudalization, thus, made ready to urbanization. Urbanization probably won't be in valor except if bolstered by Royalisation of God, sanctuaries and spread of individual bhakti developments.

Summary of the Chapter:

As we pointed out that there was a differential evolution of urbanization in South India, the main characteristics of which are the nature of a river valley surplus and the influence of sacred geography that promoted trade guilds. In the writings of the works of recent historians on the question of urbanization in medieval South India, three interrelated processes are noted. The rise of Hindu dynasties, the promotion of long distance overseas trade and the emergence of trade guilds have all combined to bring about the evolution of urban centres faster, and it is in this context that we study the urbanization of Vijayanagara as a part of the larger picture of urbanization of South India. This is done with the rationale as most of the trade guilds and the overseas trade emanating from Vijayanagara factored in South India in terms of procurement of raw materials, internal trade and processing the same.

CHAPTER-IV

THE CONTEXT OF VIJAYANAGARA

Introduction:

The characterisation of Vijayanagara is the question that has preoccupied many historians with no conclusive answer as the terrain shifts regularly. The early characterisations are centred around the question of an empire that was supplanted by a military state, a feudal state, a segmentary state and also a Hindu state. It is these diverse characterisations that have actually led to the idea of approaching Vijayanagara as an important question. Most of the approaches to Vijayanagara mediated by these questions of characterising the state. One of the characterisations that have been recently contested and truly demolishes the question of segmentary state, but on the other hand, the idea of Oriental despotism was also demolished long ago in the 1960s as part of the agrarian question.

The point of concern seems to be the power of the centre or the imperial centre of the Vijayanagara over the regions and the specific nature of the relationship between them. While the characterisation of Vijayanagara as an autocratic state would do injustice to the peripheral territories ruled by the nayakas, the same characterisation of Vijayanagara as a segmentary state would do injustice to the central authority. Thus a via media between both the central authority and the regional segments is not a question of history but a question of reading the sources, and the agrarian character of the Vijayanagara highlights this in the form of land grants inscriptions and the thriving agricultural process where the central core regions and the peripheries are engaged in political relationship. This forms the base for the emergent urban centre of the Vijayanagara

Glimpses of Foreign study about Vijayanagara

4.0.0 Travellers' writings (15th and 16th centuries)

The rise and fall of Vijayanagara Empire attracted travellers from the entire West. Nicolo Di Conti, Abdur Razzak, Domingo Paes and Nuniz are the main travellers to the Vijayanagara Empire.

Domingo Paes' narrations are crisp and clear with chronological references, and Nuniz's narrations are vivid in the issues of dynasties, kings and political affairs.

The third traveler's account dates to this period of political chaos. Ludovico de Varthema, traveler of unknown origin, visited the capital in 1504 (Badger 1863; de Varthema et al. 1863; Rubiés 2000). Unlike Abdur Razzak, who noted seven concentric walls, Ludo de Varthema recorded only three—perhaps as a result of his lower status and unofficial capacity; he was denied access to the inner compounds to which the ambassador had been admitted. In any kind, his knowledge of the city comes across as more limited; the capital is only briefly described as a city of great merchandise, and indirect knowledge of some customs of the king are related. Regarding trade, however, his knowledge was significant: he stated that all horses arriving in Cannanore on the coast were sent to Vijayanagara, though mares were withheld, perhaps as a restriction on attempts at breeding rather than on acquiring them from Arabian sources. As valuable military tools, as well as powerful symbols of authority, horses were a much-desired commodity, and thus, a monopoly on their import would have been especially valuable; efforts at breeding and maintaining a native supply of horses were never successful in the pre-modern era.

4.1.0 The Origin of Vijayanagara

Vijayanagara Empire was visited and described by Nicolo de' Conti and Abdur-Razzak in the fifteenth century and by Paes and Nuniz in the sixteenth century. Domingo Paes starts his narrative in "who was at Bisnaga in the time of Crisnarjo when Cristovjo de Pigueiredo was there" and the probable year is 1520, and the chronicles by Nuniz which appears to have been written between 1535-37, both first collected by Portuguese Historian Barros in 1537¹⁰⁸. Three hundred and sixty years later the Portuguese historian Senhor Doin David Lopes brings these two into light in 1897 A.D. through his "Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga". However, the name Basinga was given by Krishna Swamy¹⁰⁹. These bear for the most part on the arrangement of upsets which set up the Saluva family in control. The first of these rulers and two of his successors bore the name of Narasimha, which was taken by the Portuguese and different Europeans to be the name of the kingdom as opposed to of its sovereign. Subsequently, we read of the nation of Narsinga, of which the capital was Bisnaga (Vijayanagar).

It was Prof. Robert Sewell of the Madras Civil Service who in 1900 in work entitled 'A Forgotten Empire,' first introduced to present-day European scholars. He described the extent and grandeur of the Vijayanagara Empire which dominated southern India during the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. Father Heras vastly amplified and corrected the story in many respects¹¹⁰ which was compiled by Sewell and carried it down to the seventeenth century made a further valuable contribution towards Indian history.

¹⁰⁸ R. Sewell, *Op.cit.*

¹⁰⁹ S. Krishna Swamy Aiyangar, "Little-known Chapter of Vijayanagar History", *Madras. 1916*. M. Longworth Dames *Man*, Vol. 18. (Jul., 1918), Pp. 111-121.

¹¹⁰ R. Sewell, *Op.cit.*

The city of Vijayanagar was, by and large, expected to have been established in the year 1336 A.D., the date can be assembled from two facts. One from the inscription of the earliest king, Harihara I or Hariyappa, the "Haraib" of Ibn Batuta, dated in 1340 A.D. the other, the record provided by a writer of a strike southwards through Muhammad Tughlaq tallies at almost all points with the story given towards the start of the account of Nuniz¹¹¹.

As demonstrated by Ibn Batuta, Sultan Muhammad moved southwards against his instigator nephew, Baha-ud-din Gushap, who had escaped to "Rai of Kambila," or "Kampila" as Firishtah as the place is called. The title "Rai" verifiably means the Kanarese, where the shape "Raya" is exercised for "Rajah;" whereas in "Kambila" or "Kampila" we view the old town of Kampli, situated miles from Anegundi, which was the stronghold of the forerunners of the kings of Vijayanagar. It is exceptionally typical to accept that the Rai could have ceased Kampli and taken shelter in the invigorated statures of Anegundi when attacked by the Sultan. He could secure himself with a much more vital probability of advancement, and this would reflect the qualification in the names given by the two authors.

Ibn Batuta notices that who lived in South India from 1332-1342 A.D.¹¹², says Harihara-I was the head of Deccan and was a subject of King Mohammad. After 100 years Persian Agent to India Abdur Razzak says that The Deccan concealing the two oceans to Cape Comorin was under the kingship of Vijayanagara. Ibn Batuta continues to express that the Raya protected his guest by sending him away to a neighbouring administrator, in all probability the Hoysala Ballala, king of Dvarasamudra in Maisur, by then staying at Tanur. He influenced a monster fire to be lit on which his wives and the wives of his nobles, priests, and basic men burnt themselves. The town was overrun, and eleven offspring of the Rai was held captive and passed on to the Sultan who made them all Musalmans. There are only two impressive motives behind

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

this story, and the standard one is the Hindu record given by Nuniz. One of these stresses the clarification behind the Sultan's strike. According to the Hindu columnists, it was a war endeavoured from the unadulterated energy of progress; as shown by Muhammadan story it was a crusade against a nonconformist.

The second is that while the Hindus articulate that none of the royal members fled, Batuta especially says the survival of eleven youngsters and demonstrates his point viably. In any case, this does not spoil the similarities of the two records, while the synchronism of the dates makes it hard to assume that they can imply two separate events. Vijayanagara's diverse origin stories may have played a role in communicating imperial claims to different audiences. According to Subrahmanyam, the best known of these accounts comes from the 16th-century writings of a Portuguese horse trader Fernao Nuniz. This account along with his contemporary Domingo Paes was first published in Portuguese in 1897. Later it was translated into English in 1900 by Robert Sewell and published in his important book "A Forgotten Empire".

Nuniz's account, described by Subrahmanyam as a hybrid of various local traditions, begins with the recounting of the early 13th-century attack by the Sultanate of Delhi on an already existing kingdom of Vijayanagara based in Anegundi, to the north of the Tungabhadra River. The victorious Sultan is reported to have taken captives from Vijayanagara, including one, Devaraya, who was eventually returned to the city and became the ancestor of all subsequent Vijayanagara kings. The revival of Vijayanagara and the selection of the site for the new capital occurred when the king was hunting along the southern bank of the Tungabhadra and observed the miraculous sight of a hare chasing a dog. At the same locale, the king met a sage, who advised that he found a city in this holy place. The king did so and named the city after the sage Vidyaranya. Devaraya is reported to have Nuniz' story contains a variety of elements that are common to other contemporary¹¹³.

¹¹³ See Fr. H. Heras, "Beginnings of Vijayanagar History", *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 75, No. 2, Feb., 1930, p. 127.

In south Indian historical texts, the hare versus hunting dogs story was widespread throughout South Asia, and features as an explanation for the founding and location of various cities-including the Sri Lankan city of Kandy. Vidyaranya was a powerful Vaishnava saint of the 14th century (based at Sringeri), and stories of his role in the empire's founding may, at least in part, be linked to sectarian religious interests. Other stories of Vijayanagara's origins begin with Bukka, his brother Harihara, and the three other Sangama brothers. In some, they are depicted as Telugu warriors who had been captured by the king of Delhi and converted to Islam, but who returned to rediscover their Hindu identity and found a Hindu state. In others, they are Kannada princes of Kampili or Hoysala origin, who also returned to the region to found a great Hindu kingdom. In still other tales they were shepherds who met up with Vidyaranya while tending their flocks along the Tungabhadra.

These differing stories have often been taken as evidence of a lack of sound historical knowledge of or from the early decades of Vijayanagara. However, it is also possible to look at them as compositions, derived from traditional Kannada and Telugu literary forms, which presented this upstart kingdom in the kingdom in a favourable light to very different audiences. These included Telugu and Kannada subjects, the powerful Sri Vaishnava authorities and devotees, and the Vijayanagara military, which drew heavily from both Islamic and local pastoralist communities. In this way, what appears at first look an absence of lucidness may in truth reflect inward changeability in the vital creation and introduction of legitimizing majestic¹¹⁴ establishment stories to differing royal subjects.

The capital city of the Empire of Vijayanagara was Hampi founded in central Karnataka along the banks of the River Tungabhadra. The word “Hampi” is derived from Goddess Pampa, Lord Shiva’s consort. When the empire was established in 1336 A.D, Hampi was renamed Vijayanagara. Before it was

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

made the capital of the Vijayanagara Empire, the region of Hampi was ruled by the dynasties of Kadamba, Chalukya (of Badami), Hoysalas, Kalachuris and Yadava and was part of their kingdoms. An inscription dating 1163 A.D.¹¹⁵ records the presence of donations made to Lord Virupaksha.

4.1.1 Vijayanagara from Kingdom to Empire

The formation of the Vijayanagara Empire occurred following the collapse of the Delhi Sultanate in the mid-fourteenth century AD. At that time when there was no single dominant political power in south India and no competing states or empires that could successfully lay claim to extensive territories or populations. The origins of the first rulers of Vijayanagara members of the Sangama dynasty are obscure and much debated¹¹⁶. However, it is clear that the Sangama was effective and creative military leaders. They choose their base in a relatively sparsely occupied semi-arid region on the southern banks of the Tungabhadra River. There they founded their capital Vijayanagara, the "city of victory"¹¹⁷ become geographically and politically advantageous to the Empire.

First, after the withdrawal of the Delhi sultanate and their defeat of the Kampili state, there were no competing political powers in the region. Second, the region's dramatic topography with its seasonally fierce river and rugged granitic outcrops had great defensive potential and provided an easily secured locale from which to begin a project of military expansion. Third, within this rugged terrain, the capital was situated along a bend in the river, providing a narrow band of fertile land that could be effectively farmed with canal and reservoir irrigation. The Sangamas rapidly expanded their territories to the south and resisted challenges from the north. Sangama military success was

¹¹⁵ Ashima Krishna, "The Krishna Temple Complex, Hampi: An Exploration of Its Identity as A Medieval Temple in The Contemporary Context", An unpublished Thesis, January, 2009.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

due in large part to their adoption of the military techniques and strategies of their northern foes. The empire and its capital city grew rapidly covering a population nearly as high as 100,000 by the early 1400 AD¹¹⁸. By the time the Vijayanagara capital was abandoned in 1565 following a major military defeat, the city core had extended over approximately 30 square kilometres, and its fortified hinterland was more than 400 Square Km in the area. The city's population at that time is estimated to have exceeded to 250,000¹¹⁹.

The Sangamas consolidated, legitimized and communicated their authority both at their capital and across their rapidly expanding empire. In large part, the audiences for these claims were other elites. These included rulers of polities that had been conquered by the empire and were expected to acknowledge Vijayanagara sovereignty, as well as rulers of polities still outside imperial control and it was certainly the desire of Vijayanagara's rulers that areas beyond would one day fall under their authority.

It is important to emphasize that Vijayanagara was the capital of the wealthiest and most powerful Hindu empire of south India (Saletpore 1934). Contemporary Muslim historians and European visitors to the capital attest to the vast size and sumptuous appointment of Vijayanagara-unrivaled as a "theatre" of Hindu imperial display (Sewell 1900) the city of Vijayanagara. The capital of the broad empire was Vijayanagara asserted authority over the vast majority of southern India between about. 1300 A.D. and 1600 A.D.

Vijayanagara was arranged in a region which had never been politically focal or thickly populated. Lying on the northern political boondocks of empire and the city was likewise situated at a rural wilderness of sorts. The city was vigorously fortified, containing grand temples, royal residences, stages, and different types of world-class engineering and also broad territories of settlement, markets, and frameworks of streets, ways, and extensions (Stein

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

1980, 1989), Fritz, Michell, and Nagaraja Rao 1985, Filliozat and Filliozat 1988, Michell 1990)¹²⁰.

The semi parched Karnataka also was known as the shatter zone landscape which holds the empire exists in the rain shadow of the Western Ghats, the mountain bind which runs the west shoreline of India, and gets a low and transiently factor precipitation of under 500 mm for every year (Spate 1954). The empire extended quickly, and huge regions of southern India were asserted by Vijayanagara as right on time as the mid-fourteenth century (Nilakanta Sastri, 1975). It was toward the start of the sixteenth century that there was a sensational increment in the beat of political, statistic, and agrarian change¹²¹ in the Vijayanagara area and the empire.

The sixteenth-century archives and oral narratives describe a vast scale of developments all through southern India (Stein 1980). There was a noteworthy increment in development action in the city right now, and through archaeological review outside the city (Morrison 1995), yet the purposes behind these vast scale developments of individuals were unexplained¹²².

The chronicled record of the sixteenth century contains numerous references to the clearing of timberlands and recovery of land and the development of farming offices (Morrison 1995). The mid-sixteenth century additionally observed a time of expanded militarization, endeavours at centralization of command over the empire. Sinopoli and Morrison say there were a few vast sanctuary edifices worked in the encompassing zone (Filliozat and Filliozat 1988). Be that as it may, the gigantic restructurings of land use amid the Vijayanagara time frame are because of the substantial scale utilization of supply found only south of the city. They were gathered and investigated with

¹²⁰ Kathleen D. Morrison, "Typological Schemes and Agricultural Change: Beyond Boserup in Precolonial South India", *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 37, 1996, Pp. 583-608.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

a specific end goal to examine the vegetation history of the Vijayanagara district (Morrison N.D., 1994).

The Kamalapuram repository is sustained by a trench from the Tungabhadra Waterway and also via regular spillover. It contains water all year, in this manner giving an ideal situation to huge agriculture from the late 14th or mid-15th century up to the present. The most imperative farming yields of the Vijayanagara period, rice, sorghum, millets, and potentially sugar-cane, are largely grasses, and numerous noncultivated grasses additionally flourish in open or bothered natural surroundings, for example, fields¹²³.

Vijayanagara has a number of temples preexisted to the rise of Empire and, revamped and newly constructed temples in the diverse times of Dynasty. These temples controlled broad landholdings, which they, for the most part, rented out to singular farmers in return for a segment of the create. Temples themselves could resemble little urban areas, utilizing several priests, artists, researchers, and different functionaries, and also create exceptional records and staffs for their enormous kitchens. Temples show up in the authentic record principally as the beneficiaries of endowments of money, land, and create rights from indicated towns (Stein 1980).

The crucial part of temples in agriculture stemmed both from their status as landholders and from their inclusion in the development and upkeep of rural offices. Gifts to temples can likewise be thought about ventures; the sanctuary took singular blessings or pooled littler endowments and put them in rural offices, particularly supplies. The sanctuary was then qualified for an offer of the expansion underway of the terrains watered by the new or recently repaired office.

The overlordship of the Vijayanagara kings was communicated and perceived in their entitlement to develop and invest temples in their domains Provincial

¹²³ See, Nagaraja Rao, M.S. (ed.), *Vijayanagara: Progress of Research 1983-1984*, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Mysore, 1985

pioneers, including those designated by the inside, were additionally ready to fashion flat custom and material ties with temples in their own particular territories and in this way subvert endeavours at centralization¹²⁴ (Appadurai 1978). Benefactors in dry territories, for example, the Vijayanagara area, could make rights to create from more profitable zones, for example, the alluvial deltas of the east drift. In this way, sanctuary speculation was vital in encouraging spatial decent variety in agriculture that was custom, political and financial in character

The quick development of the city of Vijayanagara in the mid-fourteenth century and its sensational extension amid the mid-sixteenth century incited huge scale changes in the power of agriculture Vijayanagara. The course of this strengthening was not a univariate or unilinear movement from easy to complex methodologies yet included exceptionally concentrated flooded agriculture from the earliest starting point, the verifiable record, appears to have included escalation legitimate, broadening, and development. According to the recorded sources, 16th-century centred around the development of channels and *anicut*s, offices which take into account work concentrated yet profoundly profitable wet agriculture, and in the district around the city references to flooded land increment significantly in the sixteenth century. This period additionally observed a veritable blast in supply development, which demonstrates the expansion of the agrarian scene¹²⁵.

The political purposes behind the extension of Vijayanagara kingdom to empire lay the Deccan's remoteness to Delhi Sultanate and the religious likes Vijayanagarally Delhi Sultanates.

¹²⁴ John M. Fritz, George Michell and M.S.Nagaraja Rao, "Vijayanagara: The City of Victory", *Archaeology*, Vol.39, No.2, March/April, 1986, Pp.22-29.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

4.1.2 The Core region of Vijayanagara and the territories of the Empire

At its maximum degree, the Vijayanagara empire enveloped somewhere in the range of 3.6 lakh square KM and may have included upwards of 2.5 cores individuals (Stein 1989). The region asserted by the sovereigns incorporated a scope of topographic and environmental zones, from profitable marsh seaside districts with seaports essential to worldwide exchange (Subrahmanyarn 1990) to semi-bone-dry inside uplands, rocky, forested regions; and very much watered beach front zones and extension of development in the arid regions¹²⁶ (Breckenridge 1985: 42; Palat 1987: 15-18) and an increase of their political importance.

Vijayanagara, "The City of Triumph", however not the geographic focal point of the empire, it was its capital city. The walled centre of the city incorporated a region of in excess of 25 square KM. Ahead of the walled city lies an armed territory in excess of 350 square kilometres in degree, which is the 'more noteworthy metropolitan locale¹²⁷' of Vijayanagara. It incorporates various towns, a few of which were established and belittled by the Vijayanagara kings, and it contains the prompt farming zone of the city.

In the capital city, lies the 350 or more square km area that incorporates the more extensive urban condition of Vijayanagara. Situated inside this zone are hundreds of nucleated settlements, Vijayanagara areas and water system works, streets, strongholds, holy places and temples¹²⁸.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ For details, Carla M. Sinopoli and Kathleen D. Morrison, "Dimensions of Imperial Control: The Vijayanagara Capital", *American Anthropology*, Vol. 97, Part.1, 1995, Pp. 83-96.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

Since 1988, a systematic archaeological survey in the Vijayanagara region has been conducted under the direction of Dr Kathleen Morrison and Dr Carla Sinopoli. The sample universe of the Vijayanagara Metropolitan Survey consists of 162 Sq.KM is surrounding the city (Sinopoli & Morrison 1991: 57-59). This universe is divided into eight blocks. Three of which have been surveyed to date. Within each block, a 50% random sample of north-south transects was chosen for study. [...]¹²⁹,

The focal point of the realm was a zone of 30,000 square kilometres in the parched highlands including the capital rapidly incorporating the city of Vijayanagara, agrarian creation was dealt with at different scales, and no fewer than three techniques for joining are to be seen. The city of Vijayanagara is situated in the parched highlands of inside Karnataka, receiving the lowest yearly precipitation of around 500 mm, most by far of which is recorded in the extensive stretches of June to September (Johnson 1969). Precipitation in this district demonstrates an abnormal state of short levels, making rain-fed horticulture a vague undertaking. The city is arranged in an unpleasant scene with the obliged arable land, beside the confined alluvial region along the Tungabhadra Stream.

In geographical context, Vijayanagara Capital has The Virupaksha temple in the Hampi region and Krishna temple, both making it a sacred centre quarters which is near to Mathangi hills. The Vitthala Rama Temple and the Kings Palace much near to River Tungabhadra and the Royal Center quarters is distant to the above and near to Mylavantha hills which houses Mylavantha Raghunatha swami temple. Kamalapuram Reservoir and Dorji Valley reservoir¹³⁰ are the main outer regions of the Vijayanagara Metropolitan Region.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ See, Kathleen D. Morrison and Carla M. Sinopoli, "Economic Diversity and Integration in a Pre-Colonial Indian Empire" *World Archaeology*, Vol. 23, No. 3, Feb. 1992, Pp. 335-352.

In the Vijayanagara metropolitan locale, temples were regularly similar to little urban areas, supporting a unit of custom masters, make makers, and managers. The seaside locales of southern India were essential for several reasons. These areas, Malabar, along with the Kanara and Coromandel coasts receive more rainfall than the inland.

The territories occupied in the period of 250 years, never be the same as if in beginning and in its extremity¹³¹. The four dynasties have different boundaries and there is no such evidential documentation on the territories of different dynasties.

4.1.4 The Peripheral regions of Vijayanagara vassal polities

Vijayanagara first emerged as a political entity following a period of disintegration in a millennium-long process of recycling of secondary states in peninsular India. From the mid-6th to mid-9th C A.D., the peninsula was largely ruled by three major competing states. They are the Pallavas of Kanchi (centred in northeastern Tamil Nadu), the Pandyas of Madurai (southern central Tamil Nadu), and the Chalukyas of Badami (northern Karnataka). By the mid-8th C A.D, the Chalukyas of Badami had already ceded authority to a new power, the Rashtrakutas of Manyakheta (extreme northeastern Karnataka). From the mid-9th C A.D to the end of the 12 C A.D centuries, the Chola state (Tamil Nadu) competed first with the Rashtrakutas, and then with their conquerors, the Chalukyas of Kalyani (also extreme northeastern Karnataka).

By the beginning of the 13th C A.D, the once powerful Chola state and its competitors had weakened and left a period of opportunity in which four new states emerged: The Pandyas and Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra in the south and

¹³¹ Ibid.

the Kakatiyas of Warangal and Yadavas of Devagiri in the north. Throughout the 13th century, these polities and their feudatories competed for dominance and survival in a climate of shifting alliances. The sources we do have are contemporary inscriptions and texts from throughout the Deccan; these are neither temporally nor spatially continuous and have produced competing interpretations of the origins of Vijayanagara.

Vijayanagara imperial political ideologies, as expressed in inscriptions and texts, provide vivid evidence that the empire's rulers in some contexts defined themselves in reference to the other contemporary major powers of South Asia. The political ideologies of geopolitical reality, it bestows a sense of legitimacy on the states among which the world was divided. The relations among these polities was discussed in the *Rayavacakamu*, a late 16th century text, the work was written as a diplomatic text from an earlier period; the court of the Vijayanagara emperor Krishnadevaraya (1509-1529) and presents a constructed memory of Vijayanagara's apogee from the perspective of a small regional polity that emerged during the empire's decline. As per Talbot's¹³² discussion on the three-fold division of vassal polity. In the Bijapur court between the Gajapati ambassador and representatives of the five sultanates (and was observed and recounted by a Vijayanagara spy). The Gajapati ambassador is quoted as saying

The three kings were known as the Lord of Elephants, the Lord of Horses and the Lord of Men. The Lords of Elephants were the Gajapati kings of Orissa; the Delhi Sultanate and later the Mughal empire (and in some contexts several of the Deccani Bahmani Sultanates) was ruled by the Lord of Horses (Ashvapati; further recognition of the importance of horses to these polities); and Vijayanagara's kings were the Lords of Men (Naiapati)¹³³.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Sastri (1955:283) comments that Tirumala actively resisted efforts to reoccupy the city. According to Sastri, Tirumala was brother of the powerful regent Ramaraya, killed at Talikota. Assuming his brother's role after the battle, Tirumala fled south to the fortified city of Penukonda along with the puppet king, Sadashivaraya. Sastri suggests that Tirumala.

4.1.5 The Political geography of Vijayanagara from the early to the later period

The schematic study of the political history of the area, southeastern piece of peninsular India, in which Telugu had developed as of now by 1300 CE as a noteworthy literary language, a progression of kingdoms, the Kakatiyas of Warangal, and the rise of the considerable empire of Vijayanagara, which rules the district of peninsular India until the point that the late-sixteenth century can be found here. Aside from Kakatiyas. These were rulers who had commanded a Vijayanagara very much characterized territorial space in the eastern Deccan, kings he alluded to were deciding over areas that would qualify a couple of hundreds of years after the fact as close to zamindars. In the fourteenth Century, an unpredictable commonwealth developed to control quite a bit of peninsular India south of the Tungabhadra stream, in particular, the express that is typically known as Vijayanagara. Vijayanagara had four dynasties which were administered from fourteenth to sixteenth C A.D. In any case, chronicled confirmations have better served the Third (Tuluva) and Fourth (Aravidu) Dynasties that ruled over Vijayanagara.

When the Kakatiya capital at Warangal fell to northern sultanate powers, Harihara and Bukka allied themselves with Kampilideva. The king of Kampili had established independence through his service to Ramadeva, ruler of the Yadavas of Devagiri, in conflict with the Hoyasalas under Ballala III (1291-1342). Kampili ultimately succumbed to the northern sultanate, and when Harihara and Bukka were captured they were taken to Delhi, where they swore loyalty to the Tughlaq dynasty and converted to Islam is a matter of debate whether it was a strategic move. They were sent back to Kampili to work as administrators of territory, but quickly and quietly consolidated their own power and converted back to Hinduism. They founded a new settlement on the banks of the Tungabhadra opposite to the established town of Anegondi. Another implication of this account of the brothers' origins is the attribution of Sangama genealogy to an Andhra, specifically Kakatiya, rather than Karnataka origin. An alternate version of the story associates the

Sangamas with Ballala III of the Hoysalas, indicating a Kannadiga rather than Telugu heritage. A number of scholars have presented relatively complete Vijayanagara dynastic chronologies based mostly on inscriptional evidence. Vijayanagara chronologies by Sewell (1883, 1900), Rice (1909), Nilakanta Sastri (1955), Subrahmanyam (1973), and Rama Sharma (1978, 1980), which reveals key periods of political uncertainty that are critical moments in the political process of the Vijayanagara Empire and numerous scholars attempted to give exact chronology, have retained the uncertainty in the historical record rather than attempting to normalize succession.

Harihara-I (1336-57 C.E.) ascended to the throne in a coronation ceremony held on April 18, 1336. Inscriptional evidence shows, The Hoysala dynasty came to an end in this period. Bukka-I (1344-1377), during the residence of Bukka-I, his son Kumara Kampana embraced critical and effective battles into the southwest, coming to and at last vanquishing the Sultanate of Madurai in the cutting edge province of Tamil Nadu. At the point when Bukka passed away, the state was still at loggerheads with the Bahmani Sultanate over domain toward the northern region of the Vijayanagara capital (Nilakanta Sastri 1955:281)¹³⁴.

Harihara-II (1376-1404) changed both rule and succession in that when he ascended to the throne he removed his cousins from power in their principalities and replaced them with his children. His son Devaraya was appointed as governor of Udayagiri, during Harihara's reign, Vijayanagara annexed territory in the Kurnool, Guntur and Nellore Districts and engaged in minor wars with the Bahmanis to their north. On the death of Harihara, the heir Virupaksha-I (1404) came to the throne, only to be immediately usurped by his brother Bukka-II (1405-1406), whose supremacy was also concise.

¹³⁴ Kathleen D. Morrison, "Commerce and Culture in South Asia: Perspectives from Archaeology and History", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 26, 1997, p.94.

Devaraya-I (1406-1422) wished for power amid what was the principal common war of progression. He spent the long primary stretches of his reign repulsing assaults by Bahmani Sultanate and the Reddis, both of whom made offers to exploit apparent shortcoming and at last flopped in their endeavours to recover territory. At the demise of Devaraya-I, his child Ramachandra Raya accepted the position of royalty yet just possessed it for a while. He was removed by his sibling Vijaya Raya-I (1422-1423), whose rule was additionally short and amid which his child was at that point politically dynamic. Sources give the length of Vijaya Raya-I's control as fluctuating from 2-5 years, his child, Devaraya-II (1422-1446), accepted the position of royalty from his father.

When Devaraya-II, the Vijayanagara state had accepted magnificent extents; the empire had a very much created centre state joined with an effective expansionist arrangement that kept up or expanded territorial acquisitions past the heartland. Despite the fact that concessions were made to the Bahmanis in the north amid this period, the whole south (counting quite a bit of Kerala) was invaded. Devaraya-II died in 1446; there were minor battles for the progression in which Vijayaraya-II developed, quickly guaranteeing authority for some period amid 1446-47. According to the surviving authentic record, Mallikarjuna (1446-1465) expected the position of royalty in 1446. Gajapati attacks of the northeastern wilderness which had started after the passing of Devaraya kept on possessing a significant part of the empire's assets all through Mallikarjuna's rule. The Orissan Gajapatis made incredible territorial additions, including the fortification of Udayagiri, which would not be returned to Vijayanagara until it is recovered by Krishnadevaraya in the mid-sixteenth century. Post the death of Mallikarjuna, Virupaksha-II (1465-1485) wished for the position of the king. Since 1485, the Vijayanagara Empire was not under one ruler who managed something like ten years or less persistently.

Following the battle of Tallikota, much of the urban population fled, never to return, leading to urban decay. The king and court shifted further south

toward the centre of the empire, and this northern border region was never again firmly under Vijayanagara imperial control. Nevertheless, the city and its hinterland remained both habitable and inhabited. The Venetian traveler, Cesare Federici¹³⁵, who spent seven months in the city in 1567, noted an unsuccessful attempt to restore the capital by the Aravidu claimant to the throne. (Filliozat 1999:324) Succession disputes associated with this brief reoccupation may have led to further deterioration of the elite residential districts. Many of the smaller rural settlements in the area, however, were never abandoned. Vijayanagara reservoirs, canals, and roadways continued to define the routes and rhythms of regional production and settlement, though the structure of production and marketing must have shifted as the once-substantial urban demand for foodstuffs evaporated. (Morrison 2009)

In addition to continued yet reorganized forms of settlement and land use, forms and structures of worship were remade in a complex interplay of deliberate discontinuities and equally deliberate continuities. It is striking that the great Vaishnavite temple complexes of imperial Vijayanagara stand empty, absent any attempt at recovery, or even maintenance. Indeed, it is this history of abandonment that makes them "monuments" today, archaeological sites rather than ongoing temples. Only Virupaksha, the single large Shaivite complex, remained a living temple, probably more or less continuously, following the fall of the city. Both literary and inscriptional sources indicate continued elite, and eventually colonial, patronage gave up Vijayanagara partly because, in his opinion, that city favoured the claims of Rāma Rāya's son Peda Tirumala, *alias* Timma, for the Regency."

To illustrate how foolish Timma was, Sastri notes that in 1567 he enlisted the aid of Ali Adil Shah (one of the leaders of the Sultanate coalition), who marched to Vijayanagara before unsuccessfully attacking Penukonda. The city must have been somewhat habitable two years after Tallikota, containing a population whose presumed preference for Timma could concern Tirumala.

¹³⁵ M.T. Lycett, K.D. Morrison, *JESHO*, Vol.56, 2013, Pp.433-470.

Federici, on the other hand, writes that it was Rama Raya's brother Tirumala, and not his son Tirumala (Timma), who led the effort to revive the city in from the 1570s onward. It remained an important pilgrimage centre, drawing crowds as large as 100,000 in the mid-19th century¹³⁶.

Inside the urban Core, smaller temples now in worship fall into three broad categories; temples to goddesses such as Yellamma, Shaivite images such as Virabhadra, and Vaishnavite images with Ramayana associations. In some cases, these temples may have been revived or reinvested. The community of worship at the Malyavanta temple is relatively recent, for example. Indeed, many small sacred sites may have come in and out of both institutional and informal forms of worship in the centuries after 1565. Remarkable about each of these categories is the lack of elite investment in the sacred spaces of the erstwhile city.

Even within the symbolic set of Ramayana images, it is Kishkinda, not Ramachandra that has been reconstituted. The elite Ramachandra temple, with its elaborate narrative panels and critical place in state ceremony, stands undamaged but empty, while Ram-Sita-Lakshman images carved on boulders and even unmodified natural features like "Sugriva's cave," "Sita Sarovar," and Anjenadri (the birthplace of Hanuman) remain salient to a broad community of worshipers. The social construction of Kishkinda remains profoundly open, not under the control of any one constituency, but fluid, multi-centred, and associated with small shrines as well as unmodified landscape features.

Outside the city, temples were also differentially abandoned, remade and kept in use. For example, in the Daroji Valley, a large dry-farmed region that saw major settlement expansion in the early sixteenth century, the majority of shrines with identifiable deities are dedicated either to some form of Shiva or goddesses, there is only one temple dedicated to Vishnu (Morrison, 2009). The

¹³⁶ Ibid.

latter sits near a gateway in a massive fortification wall that divides the valley and is arguably an "official" installation.

While a great many of the other Vijayanagara period shrines in the valley are still in worship, this lone Vaishnava shrine is completely abandoned, a pattern echoing that of the great urban temple complexes. One can see a pattern in which temples were rededicated, sometimes in unorthodox ways, quietly but forcefully “destroying” Vishnu temples to create Shaivite and Goddess shrines. Regionally, patterns of change are complex, with evidence for creative reuse and rededication—the formation of composite shrines and even of¹³⁷ non-normative arrangements such as Nandi facing Rama and Sita, or a broken Nandi head being set up as a *lingam*.

4.2.0 Dynastic History of Vijayanagara: The Significance of Study

Empires and dynasties are studied according to subjective emphasis. The dimensions of empires and dynasties are differently stressed in geographical, economical, political and ideological views. Theoretically, empires are studied under the phases of foundation, expansion, consolidation and collapse. Empires short-lived, can show the remarkable expansion, but expansion should be accompanied by process of consolidation, during which a subjugated territories are incorporated into the empires, political, economical and ideological sphere (Sinopoli, 1994).

¹³⁷ Ibid.

4.2.1 The Sangama Dynasty; The foundations

Harihara-I (1336-57 C.E.) according to Kapaluru inscription, Harihara I, the eldest of the five sons of Sangama of the Yadu race was ruling the country in the neighbourhood of Pampakshetra with the city of Kunjarakona (Anegondi) as his capital. His cobrothers were known by the names of Kampana, Bukka, Marappa, Muddupa¹³⁸. During the tenure of Bukka-I, his son Kumara Kampana carried out momentous and flourishing invasions towards the southwest¹³⁹. He conquered the Sultanate of Madurai in the modern state of Tamil Nadu. After the death of Bukka, the kingdom engaged in war with the Bahmani Sultanate over province towards the northern region of the Vijayanagara capital (Nilakanta Sastri 1955:281). Nilakanta Sastri gives 1344 as the date of Bukka-I's accession, though he states in text that his joint rule began as early as 1346, with a separate capital at Gutti (Nilakanta Sastri 1955:240). Others date his accession to 1357, the date of Harihara I's death¹⁴⁰.

Harihara-II (1376-1404) the son of Bukka-I ascended the throne in 1376 A.D. There was a rebellion immediately after his father's death particularly by the Pandyas, the Cholas and some of the chiefs were dissatisfied with new policies of Harihara-II. The choice of Harihara-II for having his son as viceroy to the Tamil region led serious rebellion against the dynasty. However, being an able ruler Harihara-II suppressed them. He sought to improve the authority of Vijayanagara over trade based Malabar coast, displacing a brief Bahamani overlordship from Goa to Chaul, close to Bombay, in the northwest the river Krishna became the frontier of Vijayanagara as consequence of wars with the Bahamanis that yielded the control over the Raichur doab, north of the

¹³⁸ K.A.N. Sastri, *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, University of Madras, Madras, 1946, P. 23.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

Capital¹⁴¹. On the death of Harihara, the heir Virupaksha-I (1404) came to the throne, only to be instantly taken over by his brother Bukka-II (1405-1406), whose supremacy was also brief.

Devaraya-I (1406-1422 A.D.) In the war of succession, among the sons of Harihara-II, he succeeded to the throne but he was ousted by his brother Bukka-II who ruled for two years and finally Devaraya-I came to the throne and got coronated on November 5th 1406 and for sixteen years¹⁴². At the demise of Devaraya I, his son Ramachandra Raya expected the throne yet just involved it for a while. He was removed by his sibling Vijaya Raya-I (1422-1423), whose rule was likewise short and amid which his son was at that point politically dynamic. Sources give the rule of Vijaya Raya-I's lead as shifting from 2-5 years, his son, Devaraya-II (1422-1446), accepted the throne from his father.

When Devaraya-II came to power after his father, Viravijaya in 1426 AD. Shortly after his accession, he subjugated the Reddi kingdom of Kondavidu and he also invaded Orissa and defeated Kapilesvara, the ruler of Gajapatis. He further subjugated Quilon (Kollam) in Kerala. Under his powerful rule, Devaraya-II extended the boundaries from Gulbarga in north to the Ceylone in south, and from Bay of Bengal in the east to Malabar on the west. Devaraya-II expired in 1446; there were minor battles for the progression in which Vijayaraya-II developed, quickly guaranteeing initiative for some period amid 1446-47. According to the surviving authentic record, Mallikarjuna-(1446-1465) expected the throne in 1446. Gajapati intrusions of the northeastern wilderness started after the demise of Devaraya and kept on possessing a significant part of the empire's assets all through Mallikarjuna's rule. The Orissan Gajapatis made extraordinary territorial additions, including the fortress of Udayagiri, which would not return to Vijayanagara

¹⁴¹ Burton Stein, *The New Cambridge History of India: Vijayanagara*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003, p.28.

¹⁴² P. Raghunatha Rao, *History and Culture of Andhra Pradesh*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1995, p.104.

until its recover by KrishadevaRaya in the mid-sixteenth century. Post the death of Mallikarjuna, Virupaksha-II (1465-1485) anticipated the throne. After Virupaksha-II different rulers were there, however, no verifiable or textual evidence of their rule¹⁴³.

Post the death of Mallikarjuna, Virupaksha-II (1465-1485/6) anticipated the throne. The right idea of his relationship to the past ruler is liable to broad discussion. My investigation acknowledges the presumption that they were siblings; however, the main interchange hypothesis recommends that he was a cousin, the son of Pratapadevaraya. Aiyangar (1916: I: 123-5) exhibits the best synopsis of this discussion. Virupaksha's promotion is, for the most part, portrayed as compelling, and a few faulty sources recommend he killed every conceivable challenger (125); be that as it may, the later nearness of later contenders Rajashehkara and Praudharaya propose that if this was valid, Virupaksha did not complete an exceptionally exhaustive activity. (Elizabeth Jane Extensions White, 2015)¹⁴⁴

4.2.2 The Saluva dynasty: Consolidation

The last years of the Sangamas were politically turbulent and events were under documents in the inscriptional record. The period was again marked by intense military conflict, in which the Vijayanagarals Saluva Narasimha and Ishvara Nayaka distinguished themselves and presumably developed bases of power among the people and in the provinces.

It was known that Virupaksha II was murdered in 1485, probably by his son Rajashehkara, who then refused to assume the throne. He instead allowed it to pass to a younger brother Praudharaya, whose baseless methods led to a revolt among the nobility (Aiyangar 1916:139-40). Thus, weak heirs and

¹⁴³ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Agreeing to Disagree 'Burtan Stein On Vijayanagara' South Asian Research, Vol.No.17, Autumn (1997).

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

ambitious military officers made the last decades of the fifteenth century a tumultuous time in the Vijayanagara Empire.

As a dexterous military general and political senator, Saluva Narasimha (1485-1490) had numerous years to amass a power base among the honorability. It is accounted for that he requested Narasa Nayaka, child of Ishvara Nayaka, to attack the capital and secure power as an intermediary for Saluva Narasimha.¹⁴⁵ Engravings and records of the copper plate reveal that he had announced himself, Raya. Occasions of the period likely required Saluva Narasimha's regard for securing Vijayanagara region against remote attacks, which likely prompted disregard of household interest and the shaping of an intrigue that prompted usurpation yet.

Narasa Nayaka immediately solidified his broad power into a rule decide that would manufacture an establishment for building up the Saluvas as the second line of Vijayanagara. He managed the crowning liturgy of Saluva Narasimha's oldest child Timmabhupala (1493) (likewise known as Timma and Tirumala). The rule of Timma was conveyed to an inauspicious end when he was killed by Timmarasu, an adversary of Narasa Nayaka.

Immadi Narasimha (1491/2/3-1501/5), the more youthful sovereign, was delegated as successor, purportedly around the same time in which his sibling and father had died (most different narratives conclude that their father passed away at some point in 1490-91). He was prevailing as official by his oldest child, Vira Narasimha (1503/5/6-1509). The ostensible sovereign Immadi Narasimha remained a virtual detainee of the official until his possible death in 1505. Vira Narasimha (1503/5-1509) spent principally of his lead battling residential and outside foes. He passed on while getting ready for a military battle. The Keladi-Ikkeri Nayakas developed.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

4.2.3 The Tuluva Rise and Decline

The high beliefs of Vijayanagara Domain did not come until the rule of Krishnadeva Raya (1509-29), whose home as sovereign is broadly viewed as the stature of Vijayanagara control. In spite of family's causes in the Tulu nation of Dakshina Kannada. He is solidly trustworthy the privilege of the Tuluva administration to lead. In spite of the fact that he had climbed disregarding claims by his sibling's children, Krishnadevaraya's solid administration abilities through outside clash appear to have soothed any of the Tuluva tradition rulers. They gave extraordinary help to Saivism, however, took after Vaishnavism.

Truth be told, as Duarte Barbosa claims, Krishna Devaraya permitted such opportunity that everybody could live as per his statement of faith. It appears that there were exceptional connections of Acyutadevaraya with the Tirupati temple, maybe settled amid his stay in Chandragiri. As indicated by abstract and inscriptional sources, Achyuta played out his first crowning ceremony at Tirupati before God Venkateswara. As Rajanadha depicts it, he was sprinkled with water from the awesome conch held in the hand of the Leader of Tirumalai Slope. The work, as per its title, observes Acyutarāya (ruled 1529–1542), a child of Narasa, otherwise called Vīra Narasimha, and a more youthful sibling of Vijayanagara head Krishna Devaraya (ruled 1509–1529) of the Tuluva tradition and his successor.

This is the third dynasty which ruled Vijayanagara region. The dynasty was named "Tuluva" in light of the way that they had a place with the Tulu speaking locale called "TULUNAD"¹⁴⁶, and their mother tongue was "Tulu" dialect. They came first from Karnataka. Tuluva Custom was one of the choice lines of the Vijayanagara region of Southern India. Krishna Deva Raya was

¹⁴⁶ For Deccani administration during this period, see Richards, Mughal Administration; for accounts of the Maratha polity based on documents preserved in the Pune Daftar or the Bharat Itihas Samshodak Mandal.

the pioneer of their period. The realm accomplished its most essential splendour of time.

Tuluva Narasa Nayaka (1491-1503 A.D.)

Tuluva Narasa Nayaka had a place with the Hindu social order (Tulu speaking forward class Matrilineal Hindu society having a place with the Nagavamsi Kshatriya, mastermind found Vijayanagara ally in the southern harbour of Karnataka). He was the efficient officer of the Vijayanagar furnished power under the leadership of Saluva Narasimha Deva Raya and the genuine sovereign in the midst of the apparent lead of the child Saluva Narasimha. Post the death of King Saluva Narasimha, the ruler Thimma Bhupala was killed. The strong Narasa Nayaka by then assigned the other sovereign, Narasimha Raya-II in any case held every single administrative power with a specific extreme goal to provide security to the kingdom. He was known as the *rakshakarta* (shield) and *Svami* (ruler). He held the workplaces of the *senadhipati* (Commander in chief), the *mahapradhana* (prime minister) and the *karyakarta* (director) of the ruler. He feasibly kept the Bahamani Sultans and the Gajapatis far from the kingdom and controlled different uprisings by unfaithful chieftains, attempting to apply their self-administration.

Viranarasimha Raya (1503-1509 A.D.)

He ascended to the power after the Tuluva Narasa Nayaka. The fierier Krishnadevaraya was the king's half-brother. Their skilled father Tuluva Narasa Nayaka acknowledged feudatories rising in resistance all over. At first, Immadi Narasa Nayaka, the most experienced offspring of Tuluva Narasa Nayaka progressed toward getting the chance to be king and propped up at the situation of sovereignty for a long time before being killed. Vira Narasimha Raya was next ascended in 1505 A.D. what's more, spent every last one of his years doing fighting rebel warlords. Being on death bed, legend has it that Vira Narasimha Raya asked for his priest Saluva Thimma (Thimmarasa) to poison Krishna devaraya with the target that his particular child could

progress toward getting the chance to be king of Vijayanagar. Thimmarasa regardless brought a few she-goat eyes to the king and revealed to him that he had Krishnadevaraya killed. Regardless there is no record to demonstrate something besides an inviting relationship between the two stepbrothers and that the assigned custom of Krishnadevaraya was a smooth one.

Sri Krishna Deva Raya (1509-1529 A.D.)

Sri Krishna Deva Raya was the much-admired king of Vijayanagara kingdom. He had a special place in the Tuluva Hindu society. He is viewed as a sacred individual by Tuluvas, Kannadigas and Telugus, as remarkable contrasted with different kings of India. The king Krishna Deva Raya earned the titles Kannada Rajya Rama Ramana, Mooru Rayara Ganda (which suggests King of three kings) and Andhra Bhoja. Krishna Deva Raya has bolstered relationship with the particularly skilful prime minister Timmarusu, who was loved by the king as a father figure and was in charge of his assigned celebration. Krishna Deva Raya was the offspring of Nagala Devi and Tuluva Narasa Nayaka, under Saluva Narasimha Deva Raya, who later took control of the area to shield it from disintegrating. The king's assigned statute occurred on the birthday of Krishna, and his most trusted inscription is from July 26, 1509 A.D.

Achyuta Raya (1529-1542 A.D.)

Achyutha Raya has a place in the Hindu social order. He was a pioneer of a Vijayanagara kingdom of South India. He was the more enthusiastic kin of Krishna Deva Raya, whom he is winning in 1529 A.D. The peace and flourishing of the kingdom under Krishnadevaraya were accomplishing an end. Feudatories and foes were sitting tight for a chance to cleave down the kingdom. Achyuta Raya anticipated that would battle with the imperative Aliya Rama Raya who was seeking after the situation of eminence. While made by Nuniz talk low of Achyuta Raya, much the same as a king given to obscenities and mercilessness, there is a satisfactory insistence to

demonstrate that the king was in actuality major in his specific advantage and struggled excitedly to keep the flourishing of the kingdom alive. He had been chosen by Krishna devaraya himself as a talented successor.

Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur attacked and got the Raichur Doab. Regardless, the Gajapati's of Orissa and Quli Qutub Shah of Golconda were vanquished and pushed back. Before long Achyuta Raya adjacent his general Salakaraju Tirumala went on a southern battle to bring the king of Travancore and Ummatur under control. By then they ambushed the doab north of Tungabhadra and recovered the posts of Raichur and Mudgal.

The two Sanskrit works Achyutabhyudayam and Varadam bikaparinayam delineate the king's life and rule in detail. Achyuta Raya anticipated that he would battle with Rama Raya who in his uncommon breaking point had supplanted a far-reaching number of the committed representatives of the Kingdom in high ranking positions with men of his assistance. Over and over the Bahamani Sultans were picked up to expect the fight between the king and Aliya Rama Raya in the round of power-sharing. This would likewise harm the kingdom. In 1542 A.D. Aliya Rama Raya confined Achyuta Raya in a steamed and made Sadasiva Raya the new official. Aliya Rama Raya changed into the bona fide king and let by no association in the hands of Sadasiva Raya.

Sadashiva Raya (1542-1570 A.D.)

Sadashiva Raya, who had a place with the Hindu social order, was a pioneer of the Vijayanagara Empire, a noteworthy South Indian realm orchestrated in the Deccan in sixteenth-century India. When the Vijayanagara ruler, Achyuta Raya died early in 1541, his son, Venkatadri, succeeded him. He was a weak ruler and a half year later his cousin, Sadasiva, progressed toward getting the chance to be king. Sadasiva Raya was controlled by his pastor Rama Raya, the authentic king, who reestablished the Vijayanagara Empire's capacity which had diminished after the direct of Krishna Deva Raya. Rama Raya's

technique was to play the Deccan Sultanates against one another by first agreeing with one and a brief timeframe later another.

4.2.4 Aravidu Dynasty and its decline (1542 – 1586 A.D.)

Aravidu was the fourth and last Hindu custom which ruled the Vijayanagar Kingdom in South India. Rama Raya was the specialist of Tuluva kingdom's last king. Tirumala was the maker of Aravidu kingdom. The combined powers Muslim powers from Bijapur and other killed the Aliya Ramaraya in the battle of Rakasa Tangadi or Tallikota in 1565 and destructed the Vijayanagar kingdom. The Aravidu Line was the fourth and last Hindu line which ruled the Vijayanagara Empire in South India. Its facilitator was Tirumala, whose kinfolk Rama Raya had been the brilliant specialist of the last pioneer of the past line. Rama Raya's end at the Conflict of Rakasa-Tangadi (by and large called the encounter of Tallikota) in 1565 incited the following pulverization of Vijayanagar by the blended powers of the Muslim conditions of Bijapur.

Aliya Rama Raya or Rama Raya, (1542-1565 A.D.)

Aliya Rama Raya was broadly known as "Aliya" Rama Raya. He was the forerunner of the "Aravidu" parade of Vijayanagar Empire. This is the fourth and last custom to affect the Vijayanagara Empire which is every now and again not considered a choice organization of that realm.

Tirumala Deva Raya (1565-1572 A.D.)

Tirumala Deva Raya was the basic Assigned King of the Vijayanagara realm from the Aravidu tradition. He was the kinsfolk of the Aliya Rama Raya and son-in-law of Krishna Deva Raya. Right when Rama Raya was killed in the Tallikota battle in 1565. He, after a couple of huge bunches of hardships, restored the Vijayanagara continue running in Penukonda, in present-day

Andhra Pradesh. Amidst this time the Southern Nayakas of Madurai and Gingee enunciated insufficient independence, while some others revolted over Tirumala Deva Raya's authority. In 1567 he experienced another assault by the Bijapur Sultan; this time the Sultan was crushed, yet also lost two or three regions.

Tirumala Deva Raya likewise held the majority of the Vijayanagara regions and expected the title "Reviver of the Wanton Karnataka Empire". In 1570 he split the Viceroyalty among his three kids: Sriranga-I in Penukonda accountable for Telugu nation, Rama (father of Sriranga-II) in Srirangapatna in charge of the Kannada nation and Venkatapathi (Venkata-II) in Chandragiri in charge of Tamil region. Penukonda was the Capital of the kingdom. The King surrendered in 1572 A.D. in the wake of feeling excessively old, making it hard to speak to and surrendered to a religious nearness of living till 1578 A.D.)

Sriranga I/Sriranga Deva Raya (1572-1586 A.D.)

Sriranga Deva Raya-I was the king of Vijayanagara from 1572-1586 A.D. He passed on the recuperation of the Vijayanagara Empire. In any case, his oversee was harmed with repeated assaults and loss of zones from his Muslim neighbours. In 1576, Ali Adil Shah laid strike to his post in Penukonda for three months, yet toward the end Sriranga I acquired out the Adil Shah's Hindu lieutenants. In 1579, Sultan's new pioneer Murari Rao, a Maratha Brahmin, moved a sudden plundering task heading a wide Muslim equipped power. His gatherings started deliberately striking the district south of the Conduit Krishna with unfathomable violence. Chennappa Nayaka, a general of Recherla Velama association, was sent to beat the Golkonda marauders at any rate the essentialness of atrocities displayed by the trespassers prompted Sriranga I who likewise dashed to rebuff the assault. Murari Rao and his Golkonda scoundrels were crushed, Murari Rao was searched for after by

Chennappa who got and confined him in a tough situation. By 1580A.D., Sriranga I turned the tide and began seeking after the Golkonda equipped power northwards recouping the space they had seized.

The new Sultan Ibrahim Qutub Shah was incensed and settled the issues himself and struck Kondavidu with whatever is left of his armed forces and took the Udayagiri fortification¹⁴⁷. By then he moved a gigantic strike on Udayagiri and butchered adjacent people, yet Sriranga I kept the battle on and reprimanded Sultan's equipped power from Udayagiri after a fundamental pull back. Chosen, Qutub Shah struck at Vinukonda and got the post. Sriranga I, adjacent Chennappa and Kasturiranga, hustled to Vinukonda and after a savage fight the Sultan's furnished power was vanquished and sent back. Along these lines, Sriranga I's troops, under Chennappa, the Sultans power was pulled back.

Regardless of the loss of spaces, which was higher this time, Sriranga-I besides had a troublesome time with his uncooperative kinfolk and great men and kept repudiating with restricted assets as the Nayaks of Madurai and Gingee maintained a strategic distance from paying yearly tributes. Sriranga-I kicked the can in 1586 A.D., without a beneficiary and was winning by his most enthusiastic kinfolk Venkatapathi Raya (Venkata-II)

4.3.0 Sources for the study of Vijayanagara

There are various divergent types of composed records for the Vijayanagara time frame. It incorporates inscriptions in copper or stone, explorers' records, religious works and scholarly works. The unquestionable or another sort of records existed for Deccan Sultanates and Mughals in the midst of the second half of the seventeenth century, or the eighteenth-century Maratha nation

¹⁴⁷ On the Kakatiyas, see Talbot, *Precolonial India in Practice*

are, most ideal situation, scattered collections of administrative reports and correspondence and furthermore pay manuals.

The records have a place with minimal nearby kingdoms, for instance, the Kakatiya area that overpowered the Andhra country in the midst of thirteenth century. The extensive stature of Mughal Empire came to an end by the seventeenth century. The understanding of institutional progressions of Mughal Empire Delhi Sultanate, and Vijayanagara empire dependent on epigraphical sources available up to 13th century in the north and 14th century in the south. The other inscriptions have never represented a potential danger in the historiography of Delhi Sultans and Mughals, because of Vijayanagara, understudies of history have depended strongly on the blessings of Brahmans, sanctuaries and distinctive religious systems, through tracking of irregular administrative wording. The epigraphic materials and inscriptions about kings and subordinate warrior chiefs give details of Vijayanagara's legitimate features.

The second genuine sorts of sources that have been tapped remembering the ultimate objective to perceive how Indian pre-traveler nations truly worked are account compositions. Chief among these are kingly upheld narratives. Most annals of this kind took after a consecutive structure and included information about the advances of an organization formed by the ruler and his organization. Rather than these compositions, works having a place with the class of institutionalizing composing gave the peruser the ideal principles as shown by which society should be dealt with and spoken to.

They were works of direction exhibited by people from the top of the line to the choice rulers or, simply more now and again, reflections on the matter of sovereignty made by the rulers themselves. Be that as it may, such story creations have been for the most part connected with the Delhi Sultanate and

the Mughal Empire, they are additionally open to the history master of Vijayanagara: work it to decide here the long district on political morals (*rajaniti*) joined into the *Amuktamalyada*¹⁴⁸ a vital Telugu work by the popular Tuluva ruler Krishnadevaraya (1509–1529 A.D.), or the *Achyutarayabhyudayam* (The Rising of Achyutaraya), a memoir of his successor Achyutaraya (1529–1542 A.D.)¹⁴⁹.

Travel accounts contain incredibly, one more class of story messages that have broadly been used by understudies of history to comprehend the nature and relationship of middle-aged and early present-day political works of India. The fourteenth-century record of the Moroccan Ibn Battuta on the Delhi Sultanate, the sixteenth-century depictions of Vijayanagara by the Portuguese Domingo Paes and Fernão Nunes or the report by the French François Bernier on late 17th century Mughal India¹⁵⁰. What diverts out unquestionably from this, indeed, a neglectful survey of the sources of Vijayanagara required the examination of pre-pioneer South Asian nations is the fragmentary and uneven nature of the data they give where real political working is concerned. Incomprehensibly, in any case, these same sources have been raised by different to the rank of a strong substratum that thought about the movement of essentially unpredictable still opposing examinations of both the nature and the working of the Indian state in pre-English occasions.

¹⁴⁸ For a recent re-examination and translation of the *Amuktamalyada*'s *Niti* section, see Narayana Rao, Shulman and Subrahmanyam, 'A New Imperial Idiom in the Sixteenth Century'

¹⁴⁹ For a recent re-examination and translation of the *Amuktamalyada*'s *Niti* section, see Narayana Rao, Shulman and Subrahmanyam, 'A New Imperial Idiom in the Sixteenth Century'

¹⁵⁰ To know more about this point, see Alam and Subrahmanyam, 'Introduction'.

4.3.1 Numismatics

The numismatic source is regularly used to change, affirm, or show what as of now is known to some degree. One can gain data in regards to the political, social, sparing and social state of the State by examining coins. Once in a while coins are discharged on uncommon events like triumph, acquisitions or festivities. Regularly a coin contains a date which encourages us to develop parentage. At times it might likewise contain a picture of King, religious image, god or a landmark or an emblem.

The investigation of Coins is a subject of interest and disciplines like history, palaeontology, metrology, numismatics, epigraphy, semantics, works of art, metallurgy, history of craftsmanship, political science and financial aspects. The main source for Vijayanagara Coins is C. J. Browns 'The coins of India'. The other critical sources are distinctive inventories of coins in Historical centres like Exhibition halls of Madras, Kolkata arranged by supreme antiquarians and caretakers. Extraordinary compared to other sources is H.P Hawkes "A short draw of gold Silver and Copper coinage of Mysore". Hultzsch E, in his work "The coins of the kings of Vijayanagara" organises the coins issued by the kings of Vijayanagara especially Bukkaraya-I, Harihara and others, stamped in the capital-Hampi¹⁵¹.

Local journalists like Desai Panduranga Rayaru, expounded on the coins of Vijayanagara though not rooted in an academic way. The *Varaha*, *Pana*, *Pagodas* are clarified. The distinctive images and the word Pratapa are reliably found on coins. There are references about the capital.

The methods of stamping coins, its course, extraordinary metals used in printing the coins and besides the money related parts of coinage in the midst of the Vijayanagara time span were discussed by Narasimhamurthy A. V. The discussion draws in insightfulness in regards to the legends of the

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

Vijayanagara kings said in Telugu, Nagari substance and Kannada dialects and about the issuance of Balakrishna kind of coins to perceive the triumph over Udayagiri. It furthermore states about the Venkatesvara kind of coins issued on the occasion of Kanakabhishkekam to Ruler Venkateswara of Tirupati. These coins predominantly came to be known as Tirupati Hana. The coins on a very basic level were media of exchange anyway were extraordinary instances of art of the Vijayanagara period¹⁵².

The different sorts of coins issued by Vijayanagara rulers, as Varaha, Chikka Gadyana, Dodda Gadyana, Kati Gadyana etc., are determined. The coins are of gold, silver and copper. The minor takeoff from the front and pivot side of the coins are cleared up. The printing systems in the capital city at Hampi, the region of central mint at Hampi and issue of different sort of coins in Gold, Silver, and Copper are cleared up. There are references for various mints in the empire.

Panchamukhi R.S, in his works "The coinage of the Vijayanagar Lines, discusses the different coins in the Vijayanagar empire. The status of Anegondi, Hampi is inspected here. There is assorted figurative depiction on the coins which can be diverged from the models found in Sanctuaries and distinctive spots.

The Vijayanagara coins were isolated into various sections; gold as Gadyana or Varaha or Pon or Hon; Pratapa or Mada or Madai. Silver coins were called Tara and copper coins as Pana, Jital or Kasu¹⁵³.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Mahesh Ramaswami & Asha. S, "Study of Vijayanagara Coins", *AIJRMSST (Acme Intellects International Journal of Research in Management, Social Sciences and Technology)*, Vol.9, No.9, Jan 2015, P.4.

The Varaha¹⁵⁴ or Gadyana (English Pagoda) turned into the standard gold coin of South India with 3.4 grams as its weight; its half section was named Pratapa (Portuguese ~ Pardao) came in vogue in the later piece of the kingdom. The Pagoda's lower division its one-tenth known as Panam or Fanam (weighing 0.36 gram) was similarly renowned and was issued in large numbers for open utilization.

The silver section was called Tara (Tar or Tare of outside guests) (weight ~ 0.2 gram)

Thus 1 Varaha = 2 Pratapa = 4 Katis = 10 Panams = 40 Hagas (Gold)

1 Panam (Gold) = 6 Taras (silver) = 18 Jitals (Copper)¹⁵⁵

Gold coins and metrics¹⁵⁶

Sl.No	Common Name	Other Name	Relative Value	Weight in Grains
1	Big Varaha	Tirupati or Venkatesha	2 Varaha	120
2	Small Varaha	Ganadya	1 Varaha	32
3	Pratapa	Pon or Pagoda	1/2 Varaha	26
4	Kati	Pon or Pagoda	1/4 Varaha	13
5	Pana	Pon or Pagoda	1/8 Varaha	5
6	Haga	Pon or Pagoda	1/32 Varaha	1.5
7	Bele	Pon or Pagoda	Not known	0.7

¹⁵⁴ Varaha was not only the coins used by the Vijayanagara rulers but it is also seen in their royal emblem. See the image of *Rajamudra* (royal emblem).

¹⁵⁵ Nilakanta Sastri, *Op.cit*, p 64.

¹⁵⁶ Vijayaraghavacharya, V., et.al: *Epigraphical glossary on Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams inscriptions: Tirumalai*, Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam, 1938.



Copper Coins and Metrics¹⁵⁷

Sl.No	Name	Weight(in Grains)	Remark
1	Duggani	250	Heaviest
2	Kanni	125	Medium
3	Kasu	30	Average
4	Are Kasu	15	Lightest

¹⁵⁷ Krishnamacharlu, C. R., "The Origin, Growth and Decline of the Vijayanagara Empire", *Indian Antiquity*, 1938, p.233.



4.3.2 Epigraphy: A brief survey of inscriptions correlated to literary sources

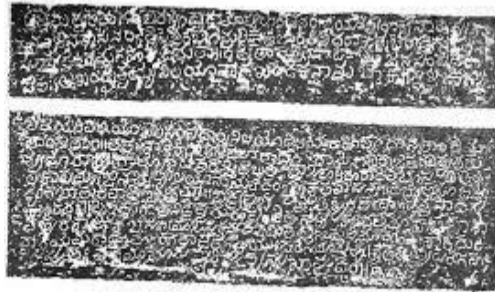
The strategies for stamping coins, its stream, distinctive metals used in printing the coins and moreover the money related parts of coinage in the midst of the Vijayanagara time span were discussed by A.V. Narasimhamurthy. The trade pulls in respect for the legends of the Vijayanagara kings indicated in Telugu, Nagari substance and Kannada dialects and about the issuance of Balakrishna set of coins to perceive the triumph over Udayagiri. It also states about the Venkatesvara set of coins

issued on the occasion of Kanakabhishkekam to Lord Venkateswara of Tirupati. These coins conspicuously came to be known as Tirupati Hana.

The formed works like stone inscriptions from the city of Vijayanagara which was orchestrated near the northern backcountry of the empire in peninsular India as well as its environs are the essential sources in epigraphical records. The city of Vijayanagara was established and sustained near the northern part of the empire in the semi-arid zone within peninsular India. One of the greatest urban zones in South Asia is Vijayanagara which had both holy and standard awesome outline. The considerable building and archaeological leftovers of the town have been a point of convergence of research for around a hundred years (Michell, 1985; for a review see Morrison, 1995). The Vijayanagara metropolitan diagram wander has driven common survey and test unearthings (Morrison, 1995; Sinopoli and Morrison, 1995) in the open incorporating the capital. The unquestionable record of the Vijayanagara time span (e.g., Gopal, 1985a, b, 1990; Filliozat, 1973; Krishnaswami Ayyangar 1919; Nilakanta Sastri and Venkataramanayya, 1946) is neither unrefined ethnography nor story yet is, somewhat, a spatially and transitorily factor database recording the social and financial trades of different, habitually battling interests¹⁵⁸. Despite inscriptions in stone, there are advantageous inscriptions found on copper plates. Diverse works join scholarly, religious, and political treatises and records of remote visitors.

¹⁵⁸ *Epigraphia, Indica*, Vol. XVI, p, 245.

Vijayanagara Inscriptions



STONE AT KUPPATUR (1886)



Stone inscriptions are the unavoidable class of substance, a condition no vulnerability related both to the strength of the stone on which they are sliced and to their positive point. The latter is a basic point, for stone inscriptions were in a sense open documents, indisputable to capable and uneducated spectators alike, filling in as an open warning of reason (Karashima, 1996).

Stone inscriptions are in like manner all things considered steady, cut on broad rocks, in storm basements of open structures, joined with vault banks, and whatnot. They cannot be favourably trucked away and only here and there are disfigured. Strangely, copper plate inscriptions [often formed (Nilakanta Sastri, 1955)] were private, reduced reports held by individuals or families and cut into a (recyclable) matrix more exorbitant than stone¹⁵⁹.

Thinking about distinct periods, Karashima (1996, p. 2) figures that there are approximately 30,000 inscriptions in the Tamil dialect, 17,000 in the Kannada dialect, and 10,000 in the Telugu dialect (all South Indian dialects), while the number of inscriptions in Sanskrit and other north Indian dialects he assesses at just around 23,000. Therefore, South India, with its various dialects, languages, and cultures, has been a point of convergence of epigraphical investigate. More unassuming sacred places moreover may bear inscriptions, either on pieces set up in or near the haven, on the diverse dividers, separated passageways, clearing stones, and distinctive structures of the temple complex itself, or on near to normal features, for instance, rocks. Town and field restrict now and again are isolated by confine stones (Kotraiah, 1978), with or without inscriptions. Inscriptions are found on segments or stones inside towns, on wells, in fields, and even in remote regions, for instance, stone outcrops.

Engraving content moreover vacillates, anyway an enormous degree implies stipends or endowments, frequently made to sanctuaries or distinctive religious establishments. Blessings may show up as all around enrichments of cash or creatures or separations of rights to convey, land, stock, or advantages. Tremendous quantities of these blessings in like manner may be thought of as endeavours, in that the trades every so often made a quick material great position for the do nor and likewise having religious and

¹⁵⁹ Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p.272.

political implications (Appadurai, 1978; Breckenridge, 1985). Inscriptions also record distinctive sorts of wage game-plans. Two or three cases join the permitting of cost prohibitions for the clearing of new green land or the improvement of water framework workplaces; arrive bargains by towns, social occasions, or individuals; and portions for the help of water framework works or specific undertakings, for instance, advancement. Works do not address an exit from the methodological situations of paleo history. Like trinkets, structures, and scenes, they are risky rather than clear wellsprings of information¹⁶⁰.

The coins were media of exchange anyway were extraordinary instances of claim to fame of the Vijayanagara period. The various sorts of coins issued by Vijayanagara rulers, as Varaha, Chikka Gadyana, Dodda Gadyana, Kati Gadyana et cetera., are indicated. The coins are of gold, silver and copper. The minor takeoff from the front-side and pivot side of the coins are cleared up. The printing systems in the capital city at Hampi, the zone of central mint at Hampi and issue of different kind of coins in Gold, Silver, and Copper are cleared up. There are references for various mints in the empire. Panchamukhi R.S, in his work "The coinage of the Vijayanagar Administrations, discusses the different coins in the Vijayanagar empire. The status of Anegondi, Hampi is analyzed here. There is assorted non-strict depiction on the coins which can be appeared differently about the models found in Sanctuaries and diverse spots.

¹⁶⁰ For more details, see Dr. Sheik Ali, *History of Karnataka*, Kannada University, Hampi, 1976.

Inscriptions Available up to 2015¹⁶¹

LANGUAGE/SCRIPT	NO.INSC	YEAR in AD
SANSKRIT	106	1483
KANNADA	1290	1495
TELUGU	87	1563
TAMIL	49	1380
KANNADA & SANSKRIT	63	1470
KANADA & TELUGU	5	1548
TELUGU & SANSKRIT	7	1478
PERSIAN	3	1647
SCRIPT		
NAGARI	146	1474
KANNADA	1307	1496
TELUGU	94	1560
TAMIL	1	1542
TAMIL & GRANDHA	35	1390
TAMIL , GRANDHA & KANNADA	2	1345
GRANDHA	17	1386
KANNADA & NAGARI	1	1417
PERSIAN	3	1647
UNKNOWN	4	1456

¹⁶¹ Acme Intellects International Journal of Research in Management, Social Sciences & Technology ISSN 2320 – 2939.

4.3.3 Archaeological sources, artefacts and others¹⁶²

It must be noticed that the biggest and most prominent Vijayanagara period landmarks are not amassed in this centre area but rather happen all through the empire. The areas are very far off from the inside, where the level of concentrated monetary and political control, practised by the Vijayanagara Rayas were significantly less extreme than in the centre locale. In the northern piece of the centre area deception the momentous capital city of Vijayanagara. The city contains a walled zone of first-class living arrangements and open structures, a large number of which demonstrate scenes of elephants, steeds, and different images of royalty and military may (Fritz et al. 1985; Narasimhaiah 1992 A.D).

The city is additionally intensely fortified as much as to keep up inward control as to redirect outside assault (see Sinopoli and Morrison [in press]). The city of Vijayanagara was itself built up in a place with long-standing sacrosanct affiliations. A locus of pre-Vijayanagara temples north of the city was extended under royal support to end up a huge walled complex with various transcending passages, or gopura, that are among the signs of the Vijayanagara sanctuary style. Different temples were worked to honour royal military triumphs, for example, the Krishna Sanctuary, which housed a picture caught from the adversary Gajapati empire (Venkata Ramanayya 1986: 438). The capital city comprises the chief locus of Vijayanagara landmarks (cf. Fritz et al. 1985 A.D.; Filliozat and Michell 1981 A.D.), especially, the Vijayanagara dignified style (Michell 1993 A.D.) all through the "centre" area.

If one somehow managed to consider just the archaeological record of Vijayanagara, there would be little trouble to outline dispersion of significant majestic design. Be that as it may, even inside this area conveniently characterized by archaeological traditions as supreme, it is conceivable to perceive a disjunction between the appropriation of landmarks and the

¹⁶² *Archelological Survey of India*, Government of India, Vol.17 no.2, 1992.

circulation of focal specialist and movement. This disjunction comes from the duplicate challenged nature of political control and in addition from contemplations of asset conveyances and political exigencies. The challenge, sketchy, and on occasion ground-breaking concentrated political specialist of the Vijayanagara Rayas is just sporadically reflected in the material record. To comprehensively look at the mind-boggling surface of intensity relations we should swing rather to a different line of confirmation, that of contemporary writings.

Vijayanagara plan, a dynamic blend of the Chalukya, Hoysala, Pandya, and Chola styles, interesting expressions, had prospered in prior several years. Its legacy of figure, outline and painting affected the change of articulations of the human experience long after the empire touched base at an end. The shining pillared Kalyanamantapa (marriage hall), Vasanthamantapa (open pillared entryways) and the Rayagopura (tower) address its unpredictable trademark. Craftsmans used the locally available hard stone because of its durability since the kingdom existed under unfaltering risk of assault. While the empire's points of interest spread over the whole of Southern India.

In the fourteenth century, the kings continued building Vesara or Deccan style points of interest yet later intertwined Dravida-style gopurams to meet their formal needs. The Prasanna Virupaksha haven (underground temple) of Bukka Raya-I and the Hazare Rama temple of Deva Raya-I give instances of the Deccan plan. The varied and multifaceted ornamentation of the sections perceives their work. At Hampi, anyway, the Vitthalatemple embodies the best instance of their pillared Kalyanamantapa style, the Hazara Ramaswamy temple yet unassuming gives an impeccably finished representation. Their landing to the limited and peaceful craftsmanship made by the Chalukya line fills in as a detectable piece of their style. An astounding case of Vijayanagara craftsmanship, the Vitthala haven, took many years to complete in the midst of the manager of the Tuluva kings.

The carving of huge stone landmarks, for instance, the Sasivekalu (mustard) Ganesha and Kadalekalu (Groundnut) Ganesha at Hampi, the Gomateshwara statues in Karkala and Venur, and the Nandi bull in Lepakshi address another segment of the Vijayanagara style. The Vijayanagara sanctuaries of Bhatkal, Kanakagiri, Sringeri and diverse towns of coastal Karnataka, Tadpatri, Lepakshi, Ahobilam, Tirupati and Srikalahasti in Andhra Pradesh, and Vellore, Kumbakonam, Kanchi and Srirangam in Tamil Nadu give instances of style. The Vijayanagara craftsmanship consolidates divider aesthetic manifestations, for instance, *Dasavathara* (ten incarnations of Vishnu) and Girijakalyana (marriage of Goddess Parvati) in the Virupaksha temple at Hampi, the Shivapurana gems (accounts of Shiva) at the Virabhadra temple at Lepakshi, and those at the Jain basadi (temple) and the Kamaskshi and Varadaraja temple at Kanchi. That mixing of the South Indian styles realized an indulgence unnoticeable in earlier several years, an accentuation on reliefs despite a display that wins the past India.

The proximity of various standard structures demonstrates a piece of Vijayanagara building that exhibits the cosmopolitanism of the enormous city. While political history centres on the advancing battle between the Vijayanagara Empire and the Deccan Sultanates, the building record reflects a more innovative affiliation. Various bends, curves and vaults show those effects. The grouping of structures like stables and towers nominate royalty. The lighting up inconspicuous components of those structures may have been acclimatized into Vijayanagara building in the midst of the mid-fifteenth century in parallel to the control of Deva Raya-I and Deva Raya-II. A segment of the kings who have been recorded as using various Muslims in their armed force and court may have been Muslim artists. The pleasant exchange of auxiliary musings probably happened in the midst of the rarest occasions of tranquillity between the kingdoms of The Hindu and the Muslim communities. The "Unique Stage" (*Mahanavami Dibba*) has great carvings which have the facial features of central Asian Turks alluded to have been used as royal orderlies.

Idols, weaponry of Vijayanagara found in the excavations



Summary of the chapter:

Vijayanagara was represented in many forms but a reading of the sources confirms that like any other mediaeval Indian state, it was also a mild despotism rather than a military state or a feudal state as we see large elements of free peasantry and production in the nadus that existed prior to the Vijayanagara rule and also continued even after the collapse of the Empire. Therefore, when one questions the nature of the Vijayanagara state one has to be cautious to take into account the predominantly agrarian character of the state. The nature of surplus in the form of agrarian surplus and it is therefore the relationship between the primary producer and his immediate overlord and the state which conforms to the general pattern in South India that existed among the earlier dynasties and also the later ruling dynasties. One can therefore locate the Vijayanagara as part of a general trend of the mediaeval South Indian political formations.

CHAPTER-V

THE URBAN CENTRE OF VIJAYANAGARA

Introduction:

The central focus of the chapter is concerned with the urban centre of Vijayanagara and is based primarily on the correlation between the archaeological structures that informed the urban character and a reading of the same in literature and travel writing. Underlined in the following pages are the profile of the eight travellers who came to Vijayanagara during the period from the 14th to 17th centuries and have left behind many representations of the urban centre. The urban process in Vijayanagara is understood as an expansion not only of one particular political formation or economic formation but as the mixture of a political, economic and also sacred religious geography, all of which combined to make Vijayanagara an urban centre.

As Lewis Mumford, the famous urban historian had remarked that the city is like text and the question, therefore, was of how to read a text and in the case of Vijayanagara the representations survive in the form of texts, and we are left with the questions to read the text. Temples, garrisons, marketplaces, ceremonial pathways, ritual centres, habitation sites, settlements of the different social groups, production centres of the artisans are all different aspects that are found in Vijayanagara and are depicted in detail. Also, we also have quarters for the Muslims who were employed in the Imperial Army¹⁶³. Therefore, the urban centre of Vijayanagara is a multilayered centre catering to different needs at different times, so these have to be read in a multi-vocal fashion. The urban centre of Vijayanagara is also planned to accommodate all these diverse needs. The themes are analysed in these

following pages that based on the following sources that comprise the core of the travel writings.

5.1.0 Travelers to Vijayanagara¹⁶⁴

- | | | |
|----------|--------------------------------|---|
| 1 | Abu Abdullah/Ibn Batuta | A Moroccan traveler, gave an account of Harihara I in his book "Kitab-ul-Rehla". |
| 2 | Nicolo de Conti | An Italian traveler left an account of Deva Raya I in Travels of Nicolo Conti (1420-1421 AD) |
| 3 | Abdur Razzak | Ambassador to Shah Rukh of Samarqand at the Court of Zamorin of Calicut. He gave an account of the reign of Devaraya II in his "Matla us Sadain Wa Majmaid Bahrain". |
| 4 | Athanasius Nikitin | A Russian merchant described the conditions of the Bahamani kingdom ruled by Muhammad. |
| 5 | Ludovico de Vorthema | An Italian merchant who visited India left his memoirs in Egypt, India and Syria. |
| 6 | Duarte Barbosa | A Portuguese gives a vivid picture of the Vijayanagar government under Krishna Deva Raya in his famous book "An Account of Countries bordering the Indian Ocean and their Inhabitants". |
| 7 | Dominigo Paes | Portuguese who spent many years at Krishna Deva Raya's Court. He gave a glowing account of his personality. |
| 8 | Fernao Nuniz | A 16 th century Portuguese writer spent three years in Vijayanagar. |

¹⁶⁴ Pundalik Baligaa and Raman Sankaran, "A Coin to Commemorate Venad's Victory Over Vijayanagara", *Madras Coin Asociety Special Bulletin*, Vol.XII, p.50.

5.2.0 The salient features of the Imperial City

The design of The Vijayanagara has two zones with hallowed focus and royal focus which are the most extraordinary features that highlight it. The qualification between these two zones is stressed by the interceding watered valley and also by the numerous distinctions in arranging and engineering. Kings assumed a huge part in the sanctuary customs and celebrations of the holy focus. The royal focus consolidated various temples and places of worship. The priests were essential counsellors to the ruler.

The sacrosanct focus is furnished with geometrically sorted out temples, long straight lanes with corridors, tanks, inundated terrains, and waterworks. As of Appadurai (1978) and Stein (1980), these sanctuary establishments¹⁶⁵ were the huge agrarian supervisors amid the Vijayanagara time frame. The holy focus is where material assets water, nourishment, riches were created and put away. The administration of land, deliver, cash, and products was a ceaseless action of the sacrosanct focus.

The imperial focus shows an alternate spatial form. Lanes, fenced in areas, and temples are geometrically interrelated in a more intricate way with numerous littler structures bunching together inside the walled in areas. Here we find not very many donatives engravings, probably because the king does not as rule record endowments inside his area. Use is for the most part coordinated towards the imperial show in extensive rich families and entourages, in momentous design and mould, and in urban ceremonies and celebrations. These underline the significance of the Ramachandra Sanctuary as the core of the royal focus¹⁶⁶.

The complex was revised with every one of the nooks and design components of this zone. The sanctuary characterizes a pivotal plan that partitions the imperial focus into two sections; In any case, a north-south hub goes through

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Reflections on State-Making and History-Making in South India, 1500-1800", *Journal of Economic and History Orient*, Vol.41,1998. p. 392.

the haven of the important place of worship of the Ramachandra Sanctuary. This hub is set apart by dividers from the back street south of the complex and is stretched out toward the north by a street. On the west of the Ramachandra Sanctuary there is the sanctum devoted to Virupaksha, and toward the east of the Ramachandra Sanctuary, a little place of worship and a solid section are additionally adjusted on an east-west hub. Both these tomahawks are broadened well past the illustrious focus. Toward the north, one pivot goes through Matanga slope and toward the north-east, another hub meets Malyavanta slope. These conspicuous regular highlights are related with scenes from the Ramayana epic the account of the god to whom the sanctuary is committed.

This holy complex is likewise identified with frameworks of circumambulatory development inside and around the imperial focus. The figures on the key place of worship and the friezes of the nook dividers continue a clockwise way. Another important clockwise course circumambulates fenced in area. The last goal is the little entryway in the south fenced in area mass of the Ramachandra Sanctuary¹⁶⁷. They are connected to two of the most critical landmarks of the royal focus worked as the state sanctuary. The remarkable nature of its engineering and the royal topics of its symbolism have been noted. It opens on to open spaces toward the north and east yet allows a watchful section for the ruler from the south. All through its length, temples and altars along this course make a 'hallowed route', with the Ramachandra Sanctuary as a definitive goal. These temples together with their related pictures and orderly priests are belittled by subordinate pioneers or unmistakable individuals from the court and armed force. These powerful people and gatherings may have endeavoured to relate their factions Hindu or Jana with that of the king¹⁶⁸.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Pundalik Baligaa and Raman Sankaran, *Op.cit.*,

5.2.1 The Ceremonial Centres

This sacred complex is additionally identified with frameworks of circumambulatory development inside and around the illustrious focus. The figures on the important hallowed place describe the scenes of the Ramayana. It is now proposed that the Ramachandra sanctuary amidst the royal focus worked as the state chapel¹⁶⁹. The extraordinary nature of its engineering and the royal topics of its symbolism have been noted. The constrained space inside the central place of worship proposes a confined use for the King, his priests, and, maybe, additionally and high authorities. The sanctuary is situated between the zones of imperial execution and royal living arrangement. The significance for this sanctuary is the long street that leads from the complex a northeasterly way. These temples together with their related pictures and orderly priests prompt the Sanctuary as a definitive goal.

5.2.2 The Imperial Centres

The imperial centres have walls, bastions and gateways of the Royal Centre, Urban Core and Anegundi as fortifications in the very serious sense of that term, one of the interesting insights to emerge from the general consideration of these features is that they probably frequently served a variety of purposes in addition to those for which they were ostensibly constructed. Thus, for example, some stretches of the city's defences also functioned as embankments impounding water for agricultural irrigation

The broader implication of this is that Vijayanagara's defensive works were very much embedded within a larger urban cultural landscape and that some understanding of that broader cultural landscape is necessary if we are to more adequately understand the city's defences. While most of the smaller settlements in the Metropolitan Region were doubtless primarily agricultural communities, it is interesting to note in this context that many are partially or more thoroughly fortified as are many of the larger towns, or otherwise

¹⁶⁹ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Op.cit.*

situated in defensible locations or in positions that would facilitate the control of movement within the Metropolitan Region¹⁷⁰.

The forts of the Metropolitan Region are generally fairly small in scale with few features like storage facilities indicating that these were intended to withstand sieges or large scale assaults¹⁷¹. Situated in elevated settings close to roads and areas of settlement, it is apparent that these small-scale facilities were embedded in and dependent on the broader landscape of settlement and agriculture rather than being somehow divorced from it. Likely occupied by small garrisons, these facilities most probably served an important but narrow range of functions related to observation and security in the Metropolitan Region on an ordinary basis, while serving additionally as temporary refuges in times of imminent danger. Although the Islamic form of the walls and circular bastions of these forts suggests the possibility of a late- or post-Vijayanagara period date¹⁷², this is by no means a definitive or even the most probable conclusion given the long history of military traditions of Muslim dynasties in the Peninsula.

In the areas inside the walled city, the Royal Center and the enclosing Urban Core, evidence for damage comes from excavations by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) and the Karnataka Directorate of Archaeology and Museums. In excavated contexts, it is clear not only that burning has taken place¹⁷³, but in both ongoing excavations and in the remaining profiles or sections left behind after work is complete, we can also potentially track post-damage histories. That is, did a building burn down and then get re-built, or did a large area of structures burn, never to be rebuilt or reused, both patterns are evident in excavated contexts, and we draw on our understandings of

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ See John M. Fritz, "Vijayanagara: Authority and Meaning of a South Indian Imperial Capital" *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 88, No. 1, March, 1986, pp. 44-55.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

these diverse histories in this discussion. Even where we do not have access to freshly-excavated contexts, however, the effects of fire on the coarse-grained granite used almost everywhere in construction provides an enduring record of the history of past burning. One suspects that sections of the city had burned many times before, as did all preindustrial cities with wood and thatch structures, especially where the fire was used for cooking and illumination, so this evidence needs to be used cautiously. Smaller and less hot fires, however, would not have been as damaging to stone as larger, hotter blazes, and the effects of fire on the stone are well-understood.

The coarse-grained granite of this region typically spalls and exfoliates when burned, in extreme cases giving the stone a 'melted' look Exfoliation or "onion skin weathering" is caused by differential thermal expansion between outer and inner layers of stone. The severe stresses on lithic structure caused by fire lead to much more significant spalling and exfoliation than any other cause, including the slow process of weathering. (e.g. Ryan, et al. 2012)¹⁷⁴ Each structure and architectural element in the Royal Center and much of the Urban Core was documented, including systematic, structure-by-structure observations of lithic exfoliation and other damage, as well as discussion of exposed sediment sections (from past excavations) which provide additional evidence for burning in the form of charcoal and ash and shed some light on post-occupational histories. This rich body of evidence reveals the patterned and specific effects of fire on individual structures and sculptures across the entire city.

In the parts of the city that lie areas outside the Urban Core, including both the sixteenth-century urban sprawl that spills out from the second ring of walls as well as the more extensive zones of the urban hinterland, all visible archaeological remains were documented by the VMS, providing a larger spatial context for VRP work within the city. In these areas, too, we have

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

systematic observations on structures, sculptures, and other features, documentation which includes assessments of damage, reworking, and reuse.

5.2.3 Virupaksha Temple as a Centre

Virupaksha temple was located in the Vijayanagara metropolitan area. The Sangamas were Vaishnavaites, but affiliation to Shaivism is confirmed only in the case of Virupaksha temple only. The Virupaksha temple had existed before five centuries of Vijayanagara Empire. As the religious, spiritual preferences shifted to Pampadevi (one married to King Shiva in local ethnic stories) Pampadevi became to new pilgrim place and place of worship; patronage is also shifted by Brahmins, land kings, officers and royalty. They started giving gifts and lands to the new deity¹⁷⁵.

The founders of Sangama dynasty made the local ethnic deity Pampa their family and consequently state deity. They provide funds for the pujas and expansion of the temple. Virupaksha's pre-Vijayanagara temple include roofed colonnade around three sides of the shrine, small pavilion to the south of the shrine, later walled by Vijayanagara kings.

The pavilion is used by enchanters to chant texts. Total shrine area is extended up to Mahakala on Hemakuta hill and up to river Pampa. Sangamas built an entrance to the river side in 1397. In mid-fifteenth century a court yard and two entrances were built with slight modifications to the existing shrine.

¹⁷⁵ R. Sewell, *Op.cit.* p.293.

Virupaksha Temple



5.2.4 The Main Street and market place in Hampi

The twenty-five square kilometre area of the central part of Hampi makes it comparable in size to the core of any modern city today. The larger "Metropolitan Region" of the Vijayanagara Empire measures over 600 sq.km. And located in the setting of rocky outcrops and ridges. The site for the capital city strongly corresponds to its topography and landscape.

The progressive terrain from the rocky outcrop to the open plains suggests the three distinct zones which are the sacred river, the royal centre and the

suburban plains to the south and west. The sacred centre comprises a large number of temples, most of which date to the Vijayanagara period¹⁷⁶. This part of the city comprised of religious architecture which responded to its urban setting. Each urban zone had a temple complex as a nucleus.

These temple complexes are similar in their typology; they have multiple concentric rectangular boundary walls with gateways topped with majestic *gopurams* (gateways). The enclosures of the temples contained many auxiliary structures like halls, altars, porches, kitchens, wells, tanks, aqueducts, walls with gateways, residential buildings and shrines etc. which served the temple as well as the community. The temple complexes also had physical connectivity to large tracts of land for agriculture, including the irrigated lands which were located to the south of the region¹⁷⁷.

The area around the temple complexes also had many other independent structures like small shrines. The approach to the temple was typically through a collonaded street which served as a market street as well as flanked the chariot of God during a religious procession. Traces of a road measuring about 2km in length have been found between the Virupaksha and the Vitthala Swamy temples, gateways and walls. To the south of the sacred centre lies the urban core defined by thick fortification walls. This region contains the highest percentage of religious and civic buildings. The hills in this part of Hampi are a royal residence, Anegondi, located to the west of the sacred centre, consisted of various temples, sculptures, a fortified citadel and vernacular residential structures¹⁷⁸.

Surface archaeology at Hampi led to the discovery of many of the historic roadways and routes, alignment of temples and other structures. Three main

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ The Vijayanagara Research Project, <http://www.vijayanagara.org/HTML/Suburban.html> (accessed March 13, 2008)

¹⁷⁸ The largest cities in the world, (accessed September 13, 2008) <http://www.citymayors.com/statistics/largest-cities-area-250.html>

types of roads are evident at Vijayanagara: radial, ring and linear. The radial type appears to be found in and around the royal centre. As mentioned earlier, all these roads, after defining the urban core and royal centre respectively, converge in front of the Hazara Rama Temple¹⁷⁹. Many roads seem to lead in various directions from this enclosure, except westward. These roads make their way through the peripheral walls from Hospet to the sacred centre. Throughout the midway valley, there are market streets of the temple complexes.

The road network within and outside this urban core lead to the royal centre, which was another fortified zone about 1.5 km in length to the south-west. This centre was spatially divided into many walled compounds which were meant for various private or public ceremonies. The royal centre comprised of the “state chapel” which was the Hazara Rama Temple and structures like ceremonial halls, platforms, palaces, large baths, storehouses and stable structures. Most of the roads that pass through the urban core of Hampi today meet on the courtyard in front of the Hazara Rama temple.

The other structures found in this area are a hundred-pillared audience hall, a platform made in stone which is supposed to have been used by the king during the Mahanavami Festival¹⁸⁰ a series of spaces in the basement which could have been used by the king, rectangular columned halls, towers, boundary walls, aqueducts and stone-lined drains, baths, a rectangular pool, large and small series of courts and verandahs and columned halls as well as large and elaborate gateways, which were used as a system of controlled access. A unique facet of this zone is the presence of the sturdier and more decorative Islamic-inspired structures, which may have been imitated from the structures in the North.

¹⁷⁹ The Vijayanagara Research Project, <http://www.vijayanagara.org/HTML/Suburban.html> (accessed March 13, 2008)

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

The western and southern parts of the urban core comprise of level land that still displays the vestiges of the thick stone masonry walls, which once protected the residents. The suburban settlements that lie beyond this region, namely places like Hospet and Anegondi, still have evidence of some temples, walls and gateways which relate them to Hampi. These suburban areas also had elaborate water systems with an array of canals and channels. The vacant land between these towns was historically used for agriculture and military encampments¹⁸¹.

The Sacred Centre

Various temples and different religious structures are situated in Hampi. In India, a few other oldest working temples are situated at this centre. The waterway marks the northern limit of the Sacred Center like Anegondi, and Virupapur Gadde are situated across the river. The Royal Center is territory, for the most part, colonized with the elegant and forced structures. It was the citadel of the Vijayanagara capital. Various roads are situated around there. The essential places incorporate the Queen's Bath, Royal Enclosure, Elephant Stables, Hazara Rama Temple and the Lotus Mahal.

The Islamic Quarters

It is acknowledged to be the private zone of the Muslim officers in Vijayanagara court and armed force. There are the remaining parts of various tombs and diverse religious structure here.

¹⁸¹ The largest cities in the world, (accessed September 13, 2008)
<http://www.citymayors.com/statistics/largest-cities-area-250.html>

Kamalapura

Kamalapura is a suburb found just outside Hampi which has various fascinating monuments like the Pattabhirama Temple and the domed entrance. The temple of Hanuman on the ridge and the Ranganatha Temple at the town square is the laidback territory of Hampi.

The Hampi area includes Shaiva temple, nobelman's quarters, place of Krishna Deva Raya, granaries, Hazararama temple, Elephant stable, king's Audience hall, Mahanavami Dibba, octagonal bath, Pattabhirama temple, Bhima's gate, talarigate Gajajala mandapa etc.

Hampi Bazaar

The Hampi bazaar otherwise called Virupaksha Bazaar has inverse other than the road. They are settled with a progression of old structures, some of them are two storied. These structures were once part of a thriving business division and living arrangement of the nobles¹⁸².

5.2.5 The Palaces¹⁸³

Vijayanagara Empire's metro region houses a number of palaces built in the different period of all the dynasties. They are

1. A Large place in Mint enclosure was excavated by ASI in 1979-82, Constructed with four ascending walls, consisting a court with verandahs on three sides with flights of steps centrally positioned.

¹⁸² Interpreting the Plan of a Medieval Hindu Capital, Vijayanagara; Author(s): John M. Fritz and George Michell Reviewed

¹⁸³ The Vijayanagara Research Project, <http://www.vijayanagara.org/HTML/Suburban.html> (accessed March 13, 2008)

2. Small palace facing east in the Mint enclosure is rectangular building, interior divided into two levels, rooms located in the north and southeast and west, providing a lead off door way at the south room.
3. Small palace facing north in the Mint enclosure rectangular building, interior divided into two levels, rooms located in the north and south, east and west, providing a lead off door way at south room and entrance at the north room
4. Nobleman's palace 1 is a structure facing north, two pillared halls well in the north-west and water tank in the south-east, all these enclosed in a double fortified wall.
5. Nobleman's palace is located in South west of palace and north east to underground Virupaksha temple.
6. Palace facing north in the "Dainik Enclosure" is with a complex more levels with rooms.
7. Palace facing East in the "Dainik Enclosure" has five moulded bases decorations on foot bases.
8. Large Palace in the Zenana Enclosure is a triple based, corridors, passages, multi-level, a court and a pavilion hall, U shaped chamber and L shaped room.
9. Water Palace in the Zenana Enclosure is placed in a rectangular tank
10. Palace in the North East of Elephant stable
11. Palace near the rock cut temple
12. Palaces near the Octagonal water pavilion

All the palaces are excavated mostly, and a couple of palaces are under excavations¹⁸⁴.

¹⁸⁴ R. Sewell. *A Forgotten Empire A Contribution to the History of India*. (Reprint). Asian Educational Services. New Delhi. 1984 (Reprint). (First published in 1900).

5.3.0 The other temple and monuments: Hazararama temple

The **Hazara Rama Temple** is right on top of the list of temples in Hampi. All monuments in Hampi have been built out of granite, the local stone. Only in two places have other stones been used and that too for decorative purposes, rather than as a building stone *per se*¹⁸⁵. The first instance is at the Mahanavami Dibba where green schist has been used as a cladding stone. The second instance is at the Mahamandapa of the Hazara Rama Temple, where four pillars made from black Cuddapah stone—brought all the way from present-day Andhra Pradesh—have been installed. The carvings on these pillars are also from the lives of Rama and Krishna and are simply awesome. The gleam of the black pillars in the cool, dim light of the Mahamandapa is indescribable¹⁸⁶.

¹⁸⁵ Interpreting the Plan of a Medieval Hindu Capital, Vijayanagara Author(s): John M. Fritz and George Michell,

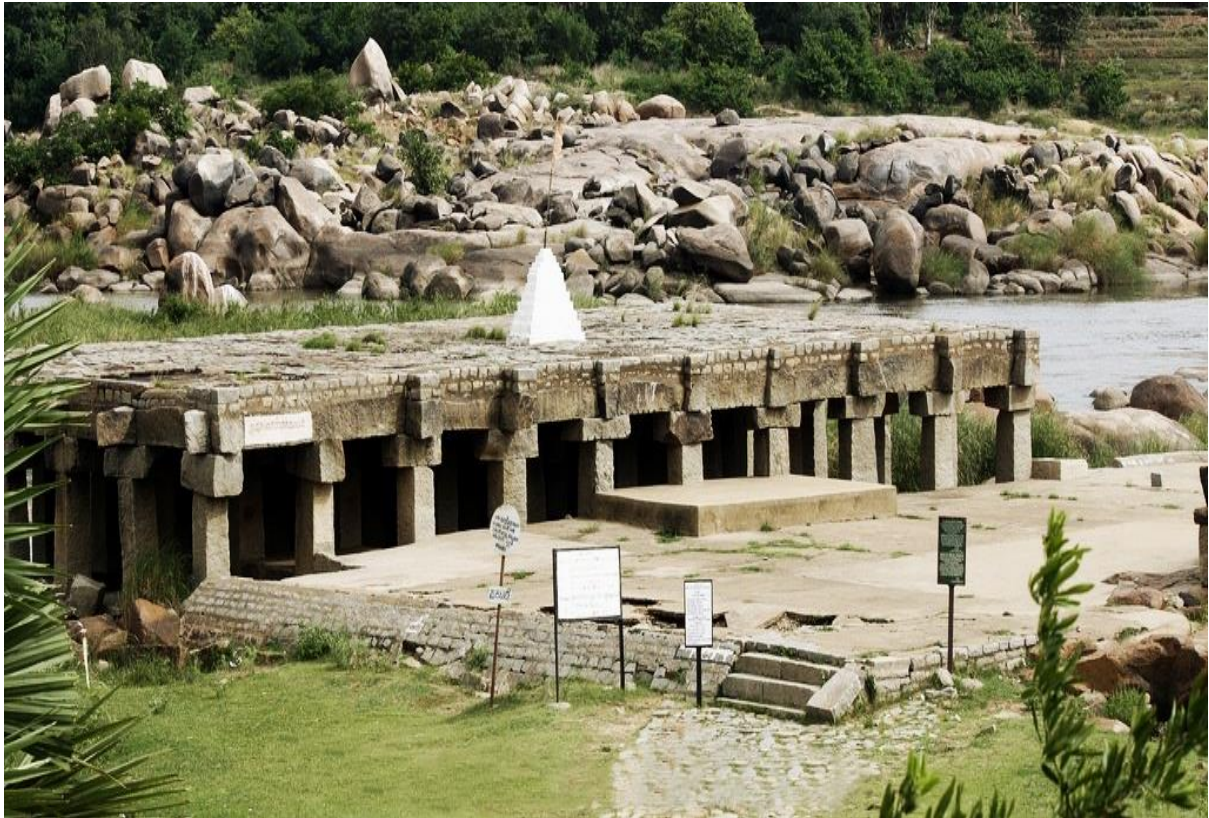
¹⁸⁶ The Vijayanagara Research Project, <http://www.vijayanagara.org/HTML/Suburban.html> (accessed March 13, 2008)



5.3.1 Purandharadasa Mantapa

This is a little open pillared structure which is nearly at other than the conduit that in the midst of storm the stream water contacts the stage or even submerges it. The structure is arranged at the stream shore close Vittala Sanctuary. This is one of the territories at Hampi where people perform religious customs. The mantapa in the sanctuary is named after the astonishing author Purandaradasa who lived in Hampi¹⁸⁷.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.



5.3.2 The Lesser known monuments

Granaries

The sustenance grain stockpiling has been recognized at different areas in Hampi. The remaining parts of two or three storehouses can be seen scattered near the east of the Hazararama Sanctuary district over the mud track which will take you to the Hazararama Sanctuary and the Dannaik's fenced in area. The mud track runs east-west bearing along the northern furthest reaches of the Dannaik's Nook¹⁸⁸.

¹⁸⁸ C.S.Patil,Vijayanagara progress of reserch 1983-1984, Pub 1985

Zenana Enclosure

Zenana fenced in area was a free separated domain held for the royal women. This walled exhibit of fancy women houses many intriguing features. At the southeast corner by the genuine interest, the Lotus Mahal is arranged. As the name proposes, you would go into a sprawling compound with a mud road experiencing the focal point of the compound. It's a two-storied calculated structure. The whole domain was the private walled in area for the imperial women people. The Ruler's Illustrious home has been the biggest palace base uncovered in the Hampi ruins up until this point¹⁸⁹.

Zenana Enclosure



¹⁸⁹ Interpreting the Plan of a Medieval Hindu Capital, Vijayanagara Author(s): John M. Fritz and George Michell Reviewed

Queen's Bath



Castle of Vira Harihara ¹⁹⁰

Similar to other palatial structures in Hampi the base of this illustrious habitation nearby different other private relics is arranged inside irritate that is at the south of Hazara Rama Sanctuary. The principal access to the compound is at the eastern side of the divider.

Structural shape of Castle of Vira Harihara



¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

Vittalaswamy Temple

Vittalaswamy Temple, the epicentre of Hampi tourism in the fifteenth century A.D., is the most liberal compositional show-stopper of Hampi. The temple is functioned as sprawling grounds with compound divider and entry towers. There are various lobbies, structures and temples arranged inside these grounds. Vittala, a sign of Master Vishnu, was worshipped in this bit of the country as their group godlikeness by the cow's crowds. The element of Vittala temple is its noteworthy pillared corridors and the stone chariot.

Vitthalaswamy Temple



Mahanavami Dibba¹⁹¹

This is the tallest structure here and subsequently the principal thing you would see as you enter the Royal Fenced in the area. From a separation, this resembles an ordinary raised square stage. As you go close, the subtle elements rise. The whole structure is made as a creature square structure in three layers. There are dominatingly two stairways to accomplish the best. The front one is significantly composed with carvings of elephants, steeds and a large group of various things and at the back of the stage, a twin staircase is found. All things considered one trip up through the front stair and get down through the back anyway there are no limitations.



¹⁹¹ Noboru Karashima, "Epigraphical study of ancient and medieval villages in the Tamil country", *RAS*, Vol.1, No.2. 2011, P.176.

5.3.4 The overall lay out

The archaeological work at Vijayanagara has focused essentially on the city itself (Fritz, Michell, and Nagaraja Rao 1985; Nagaraja Rao 1983, 1985; Narasimaiah 1992; Devaraj and Patil). The Vijayanagara Metropolitan Overview was started and coordinated by Fritz and C. M. Sinopoli including nonurban and non-first class settings. The Vijayanagara has a methodical surface review of eight "squares" of land each estimating a separation of 20 Sq. Km. Adjoining the walled city¹⁹².

They have studied the five squares south of the waterway and have recorded more than 500 locales that offer information on examples of land utilizes settlement, fortress, and transportation (Morrison and Sinopoli 1985, Sinopoli and Morrison 1991). The overview territory has likewise given hints of tight trails prompting cleared roadways. Street systems wound between water system highlights and prompted entryways and casual indents in the city dividers¹⁹³. There is immediate confirmation of non-agricultural production, stone working, chiselling, and iron production. It demonstrates generally little scale scattered irrigation which seems to have been situational mobile (Lycett 1994)¹⁹⁴.

The Vijayanagara area is conceivable just with offices, for example, trenches, waterway sustained supplies, and wells. The Vijayanagara channel arrange, evoked profound respect from outside eyewitnesses since the sixteenth century, has the task of water system systems helpful for wet yields. Water is occupied from the Tungabhadra Waterway by methods for stone dams or

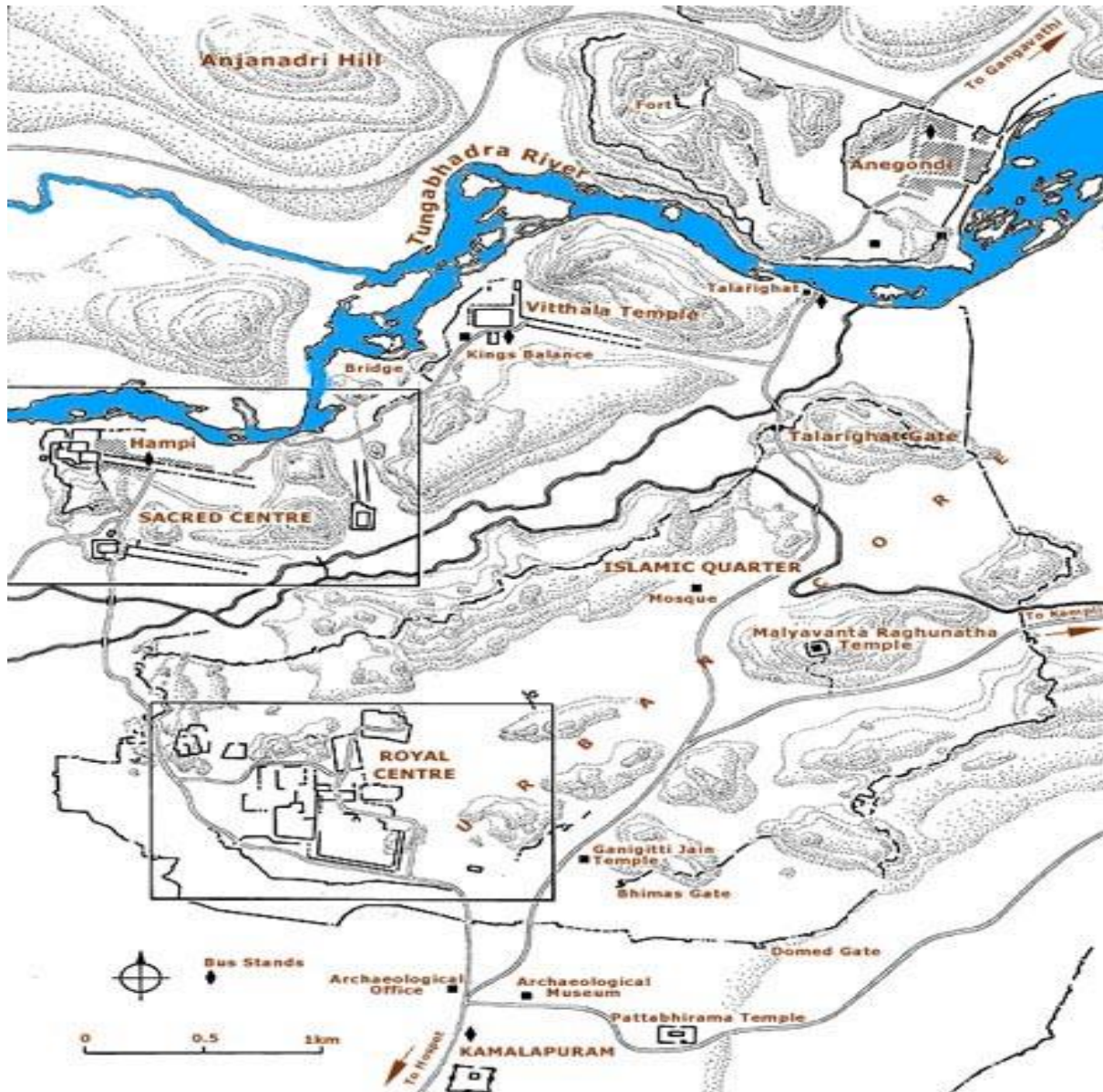
¹⁹² Kathleen D. Morrison; Carla M. Sinopoli, "Economic Diversity and Integration in a Pre-Colonial Indian Empire", *American Anthropologist*, Vol.97, March 1995, P.8.

¹⁹³ Noboru Karashima, *Op.cit.*

¹⁹⁴ Kathleen D. Morrison; Carla M. Sinopoli, *Op.cit.*

anicut and has a mind-boggling and interconnected arrangement of channels¹⁹⁵.

The Imperial City Lay out



Source: John. M. Fritz, “Vijayanagara: Authority and Meaning of a South Indian Imperial Capital”, *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 88, No.1, March, 1986, p.53.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

5.4.0 The Baazars in the Western imagination

The Vijayanagara has fundamental streets, branch streets and ways. Principle streets are more extensive, straight and more. Principle streets go through every one of the focuses and external metro areas like valleys, slopes. Fundamental streets have outspread ring and direct streets and sidestep streets.

5.4.1 Cloth and other items of artisanal value

Craft production

The nature and degree of specialities in Vijayanagara period differs extensively. It was indicated in Vijayanagara assess records and legitimate messages routinely. The differential appearance of particular artworks in the authentic record is by all accounts particularly related with the political and money related noteworthiness of the items and their makers. Metal ware, ornaments and textile were produced.

Textiles

As shown by Ramaswamy, materials were made in a collection of beneficial settings all through southern India, reaching out from solitary family units to workshops of up to 100 weaving machines running by ace weaver traders. Materials were woven by individuals from restricted standings or gatherings of Muslim weavers. Other specific word related gatherings related to material age were cotton cleaners, carders, spinners, shading creators, and traders. It was evaluated that traders transported somewhere in the range of 4.5 million meters of material for every year to Southeast Asia from Pulicat.

Iron goods

The iron items go from green instruments to weapons. Regular labourers included excavators, smelters, and smiths. The volume of Iron Age was impressive, and press completed products and ingots were exchanged from south India to southwest Asia (Abraham 1988, Digby 1982). In five stars royal living arrangement zones of Vijayanagara metropolitan locale, Swords and knives were recovered in unearthings nearby the surface scrambles of iron, slag, and over-let go red brick¹⁹⁶.

Ceramics

Ceramics were essential goods used by all members of Vijayanagara society. Numerous Vijayanagara potters have sold their products in every day or periodical market. In contrast to the historical record, archaeological proof provides abundant testimony to the uncertainty of ceramics. Artistic workshops were not recognized at time capital or in the metropolitan area. This in itself suggests that Vijayanagaration was moderately small in scale and spatially dispersed. Vessel morphology and dimension are to a great degree variable, and there is a little emphasis on standardization in fired forms suggesting Vijayanagaration in small-scale, limited workshops (Sinopoli 1988). He presented some ornaments to the King: a beautiful bracelet (*valaya*—v. 41), earrings (*kuala*—v. 42) a pendant (*padaka*—v. 42), a diadem inlaid with precious stones (*maikirā*—v. 42), also some other ornaments (*ābharaṇa*—v. 43) as well as unguents (*anulepa*—v. 43), garlands (*mālya*—v. 43) and garments (*vasana*—v. 43)¹⁹⁷.

¹⁹⁶ See Aparna Banerjee, "Trade and Urbanization in pre-independent India: A Historical Perspective", *Journal of History and Social Science*, Vol.3, No.1, January-June, 2012.

¹⁹⁷ Kathleen D. Morrison; Carla M. Sinopoli, *Op.cit.*

5.4.2 Items of Consumption: Spices, Grains etc.

The Vijayanagara rulers neither controlled nor facilitated the making of flavours, or of the rice that invigorated the trade and the merchants, anyway rather set themselves up over the connections of age to isolate an apparent surplus from the framework. Various early European guests visited the district (cf. Encourage 1968) and assumed that pepper required no push to create. Honestly, it required specific conditions for creation and handling. To a restricted degree, the cultivators of pepper and the creating and amassing of other woods items in the Indian Ocean trade were furnished by particular "incline peoples who made a living by pursuing of timberland produces, quick improvement, and trading with overwhelming agriculturalists (Fox 1969).

The expanding size of zest creation and the going to region and work would have diminished the limit of the flavour territories to suit their specific subsistence; in broad part, this need was met by imports of rice from Vijayanagara-controlled regions on the Kanara and Coromandel coasts (Subrahmanyam 1984: 442).

Vijayanagara rulers had dependably been occupied with controlling west drift ports to store the trade militarily basic war-ponies and enormous weapons (Pearson 1981). There was an unusual interconnection between makers, shoppers, shippers, and rulers in the trading framework. The expanding enthusiasm for rice incited strengthening of rice age in the conveying territories of the Kanara drift. Like diverse parts of the domain outside the middle, the collection of land salary was done locally, and royal extraction of the surplus was made as tribute requests (Subrahmanyam).

Summary of the Chapter:

In this chapter, an attempt is made to understand the nature of the urban centre of Vijayanagara and the point of departure from the earlier history shows that Vijayanagara can be understood as a multilayered urban centre. It is this multilayered ring and display of political legitimacy and involvement of the population at one level and the religious legitimacy that is intertwined with the same given specific character in the form of the State of Vijayanagara. The state of Vijayanagara was legitimised by the patron deity Virupaksha whose abode was also supposed to be in Vijayanagara. In addition, the commercial establishments form another layer but are also oriented towards the main bazaars or the markets through which they entered the city. The idea of the different quarters for the different service groups is in conjunction with their settlement and production patterns. Thus the idea of Vijayanagara emerges as an idea that seems to accommodate diverse needs during different cycles of production and historical ups and downs during the rule of the various dynasties and thus a prosperous Vijayanagara of the Sangama is contrasted with a weak Vijayanagar of the Aravidu dynasty.

CHAPTER–VI

VIJAYANAGARA CITY AS DEPICTED **IN EUROPEAN TRAVEL WRITINGS**

Introduction:

Edward Said in his famous book titled 'Orientalism' created a paradigm shift in the understanding of Eastern cultures based on the representations by the West. While he argued that the representations of the East by the Western writings were actually a projection of the image that the Westerners wanted the East to be in, and this projection actually denied some of the essential aspects of the East and in another sense essentialized the East thereby creating an idea of the East as an exotic place. One finds this element of exotica in full play in the representations of Vijayanagara which had become an outpouring of the fantasies of the West in the age of discovery when Europeans were confronted with a multitude of new ideas and different facets of the world and they did not know how to respond to the same as they did not fit in with the established patterns and paradigms.

In the case of Vijayanagara, their idea of entering India was one of the reasons for getting the access to markets and also to establish wider connections and be free from the insularity that characterised the continent of Europe for centuries. The collapse of the Roman Empire and the subsequent period of decline that was characterised as feudal or a dark age led to a series of setbacks for the Europeans in general, and for the Iberian Peninsula in particular, the invention of the Arabs led to more severe consequences. With the rise of the Crusades, there emerged large-scale conflicts between the Christendom and the Islamic world in which different groups representing the Islamic world like the Turks, the Arabs and many other ethnicities like the Kurds battled the forces of Christendom that also marked a shift from the French and the Iberians to the English and later the bulgurs of Bulgaria. One of the products of this encounter was the prime for the Turks and their

monopoly of the trade routes to India and also the introduction of the west to the advanced material culture of the East led to a clamour for goods as mundane as sugar that is highly prized in Europe and also many cotton goods and spices that formed part of the everyday commodity in Asia whereas they were reserved only for the elite in Europe.

In addition, there are also other goods apart from medicine and condiments that included armaments and metal and leather wear all of which had to procure from India. The only item that India was deficient in from the ancient period was Gold and horses and a Portuguese step in to fill this gap. Another idea of the Portuguese and the Europeans was the whole idea of travel to the eastern regions as a spirit of adventure to unearth the hidden Kingdom's of the lost Christians signified by the legend of Prester John was supposed to be a legendary King and would come to the aid of Christendom in the war against the Saracens. Many writers including Marco Polo and others provided the initial material on which the legend of Prester John was built, and later this included the idea of the eastern regions as a mystique with the concept of the Oriental bazaar. With the template of the East are fixed as a region of the rich is where Oriental despots lorded over the poor masses and lived on the surplus of the fertile produce in a very lavish lifestyle captured the imagination and therefore we have traded adventure combined as elements of fantasy that were played out in the representations of Vijayanagara.

In the medieval period, many travel accounts were written by the travelers of sea trade. The sea trade developed from the Twelfth century, said to be was a result of European Renaissance, the principles of renaissance drove the people towards determination and destinations. The mentors of travelers, the state and independent feudal whom in search of new lands, obviously guided their travelers to keep the records of their travels, moreover, its instinctual to human to keep and relish the strays of the past and continuity, all these leading to the abundance of geographical records of the new worlds. In the course of time, imperialism found much more to do with the records of past. The consequential successors of imperialism, the British designed enormous

policies in collecting, safe keeping, rewriting, interpreting and analyzing the records.

The travelers were Europeans of different lands, the accounts were written by them, found much interest in, revelatory to European concerns and contexts rather than the reality of the Non-European¹⁹⁸. On the other hand, the accounts written by the travelers are reviewed not on the basis of historical investigation rather by the technical aspects of literary criticism and scholarship¹⁹⁹. But both these trends hail their existence from oriental despotism.

“The texts were the product of a genuine, although sometimes distorted, cultural encounter between Europeans and others” (Joan-Pau Rubie´s, 2001)

The travel accounts of south India are not widely known compared to the other parts of India like Delhi Sultanate. The consistency in accounts based on recently obtained archaeological data is also less. The perspective on Vijayanagara by Latin Christian writers and the Muslim scholars of north India is more consistent with scientific approaches like numismatic, inscriptional and archaeological findings but tempered with their frames of reference.

The European writers have used two different sets of categories for the understanding and analyzing the Vijayanagara. First one is historical, in which the capital city was understood in terms of its conformation to an ideal of “civilization” and the second is religious, in which they mistakenly evaluated as “idolatrous.”

¹⁹⁸ Joan-Pau Rubie´s, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250–1625*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000, p.148.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

6.1.0 The Main texts (Books)

The two Portuguese chronicles translated into English are the manuscripts in a single volume. The volume includes four copies of contemporary original documents. Fernao Nuniz and Domingo Paes authored the first two works. These documents present a clear account of his observations of various aspects at Vijayanagara, the last great Hindu capital; the period stands in which he was a witness was for great glory and grandeur. Nuniz tells us the traditional history of the country and significant events of local current events. He further speaks mostly of the capital, its customs, products etc²⁰⁰.

The travelers such as Nicolo di Conti, Varthema, and Frederick from Italy also visited the land and threw some light on the country through their accounts. The causes paved the way for the fall of the Sangama dynasty. The details of the establishment of the Saluva, the second dynasty by Narasimha through usurpation are unclear and inadequate in the chronicles of the historian Firishtah²⁰¹. Senhor Lopes collected the information from such chronicles for us²⁰².

Unlike Firishtah, who mentioned that Srikrishnadevaraya was a puppet, Paes, as well as Nuniz, explains and prove to us that how great and powerful a ruler Krishna Deva Raya was. On various occasions, Srikrishnadevaraya was seen by Paes and exemplified him in glowing terms. Nuniz also gives us a vivid account on the personality of Krishnadevaraya's successor Achyuta and because of his qualities like fragility, self-interest; fearfulness and brutality caused the decline and final destruction of glory and grandeur of great empire.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Robert Sewell, *Op.cit.*, p.286.

²⁰² Joan-Pau Rubies, *Op.cit.*, p.199.

Senhor Lopes, a distinguished scholar from Portugal, mentions the reasons the decline of Portuguese trade during the sixteenth century. Further, he reveals that Portuguese had everlasting commerce with India but incurred loss after the destruction of Vijayanagar²⁰³.

Vijayanagara's diverse origin stories may have played a role in communicating imperial claims to different audiences.

"The best known of these accounts comes from the 16th-century writings of a Portuguese horse trader, Fernao Nuniz. This account, along with that of his contemporary Domingo Paes, was first published in Portuguese in 1897 and was translated into English in 1900 by Robert Sewell, and published in his important book "A Forgotten Empire. (Subrahmanyam, 1998)

Ever since the publication of Sewell's 'The Forgotten Empire', the chronicle of Domingo Paes has been highly appreciated and extensively used for gathering information about the architecture and spatial organisation of the capital of the Vijayanagara Empire. Burton Stein states in "New Cambridge History of India" that

"Archaeological finding has confirmed inscriptions and Indian literary evidence as well as the accounts of foreigners who visited the city before and after Paes. As a result of all of this, the city can be understood more clearly than ever before."

²⁰³ Ibid.

Carla M. Sinopoli also credits Paes with accurately describing monuments in both what she calls Royal Centre and Sacred Centre of the city. She interprets the Hampi space as a

“Metropolitan region was a dense zone of agriculture, of wet and dry crops, and it was a heavily protected fortress, defended by thousands of soldiers”,

Thus she recognises, Paes understands of the area as a fundamentally correct one by her analysis of archaeological data²⁰⁴.

“Paes was a horse-trader in the company of Cristovao de Figueiredo, an important *Casado* from Goa. His description of the Indian capital city c. 1521 seems to be the only document about his activities”²⁰⁵.

Joan-Pau Rubie´s states another source as the editor of the published document, Vasundhara Filliozat in which Paes and Nuniz's manuscripts were described.

“Certainly, it may be true that the accounts of Paes and Nuniz were circulated in Europe as manuscripts’ (Lach Donald) ²⁰⁶.

The Venetian, Nicolo de Conti commonly known as Nicolo Conti or visited Vijayanagar in 1420 or 1421 A.D., and his description of the capital has been significant till the present day. Nicolo’s visit was short and took place probably after Deva Raya II’s accession to the throne. He did not write about his personal life. However, his personal information was recorded by Poggio

²⁰⁴ For details see, Joan-Pau Rubie´s, “Towards the Cultural History Travel”, *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 55, No. 1, (Spring, 2002), pp. 318-319.

²⁰⁵ Joan-Pau Rubie´s. Op.cit., p.210.

²⁰⁶ Lach Donald, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1993, p.355.

Bracciolini in Latin. They were first translated into Portuguese and then into Italian by Ramusio. Ramusio searched for the original copy in Latin but failed to obtain it. Abbe Oliva of Paris originally published this in 1723 for the first time.

Nicolo, when entered India, he first visited the Cambaya city in Gujarat. He stayed there for twenty days after that left for "Pacamuria," possibly "Helly" and Barkur which is the "Cabo d'Eli" or "Mount d'Ely" of successive authors. Nevertheless, his confused geographical records are later corrected by Duarte Barbosa who clarifies that there were no "mountains" at Vijayanagar and says "the extent of its lines of defences was extraordinary and is with lofty and massive stone walls everywhere crossed the valleys and led up to and mounted over the hillsides. The outer lines stretched unbroken across the level country for several miles. The hollows and valleys between the boulder-covered heights were filled with habitations but interspersed with the stone-built dwellings of the nobles, merchants, and upper classes of the vast community. The areas of such communities are abounding of rich gardens, woods, luxurious crops of rice and sugarcane. At some places were wonderfully carved the temples and fanes to Hindu deities with Brahmanical colleges and schools attached to the more important amongst their number".

6.1.1 The Subject matter of depictions the City and Splendor

Michael N. Pearson goes as far as to state in the introduction to his collection of studies on Portuguese India that dramatic changes occurred in India in the sixteenth century – the Mughal conquests, the spread of bhakti influences, great artistic, Therefore, the account dated to 1520-22 must be seen as rather exceptional²⁰⁷.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

According to Rubies, who treats the narrative of Paes together with that of Nuniz, Barbosa and Pires, have to see these travellers as members of the imperial system who developed their contacts and interests within it. In broad historical terms, there is disagreement about the impact of the Portuguese Empire on contemporary India.

The short, but important study of Caroline Ifeka²⁰⁸ shows that Portuguese living in Goa imposed their hierarchies over Indians according to their self-perception and lived in a Goa Duorada (Golden Goa)

"It was flooded by hundreds of sick on yearly bases as the Carreira reached the shore, it was packed with 5000 underemployed soldiers during the months of the monsoon, and it was a highly factional political space driven by the web of patronage, rendered ever more unpredictable by the skewed sex ratio".

The picture of uncertainty may be extended to the whole coastal zone as exemplified by the 16th-century history of the pearl fishing Christian Paravas living near the tip of the subcontinent. Paes's description of his journey as a member of the delegation led by Christovao Figueiredo reflects the varying degree of otherness that a Portuguese merchant might have observed and perceived in the neighbouring territory.

Paes depicts

"You must know that this kingdom of Narsymga has three hundred *Graos* of coast, each *Grao* being a league, along the hill-range (*Serra*) of which I have spoken, until you arrive at Ballagate and Charamaodelwhich belong to this kingdom; and in breadth it is one hundred and sixty-four *Graos*; each large *Grao* measures two of our leagues, so that it has six hundred leagues of coast

²⁰⁸ Caroline Ifeka, *Peoples and Empires in History*, 1st Edition, Africana Pub.Corp, 1971, p.123.

and across it three hundred and forty-eight leagues... across from Batacalla to the kingdom of Orya".

Paes further says

"These dominions are very well cultivated and very fertile, and are provided with quantities of cattle, such as cows, buffaloes, and sheep; also of birds, both those belonging to the hills and those reared at home, and this in greater abundance than in our tracts. The whole country is thickly populated with cities and towns and villages; the king allows them to be surrounded only with earthen walls for fear of their becoming too strong. But if a city is situated at the extremity of his territory he gives his consent to its having stone walls, but never the towns; so that they may make fortresses of the cities but not of the towns."

Paes on geographical narration²⁰⁹

"The failure of the water is because they have no winter as in our parts and in (Portuguese) India, but only thunder-storms that are greater in one year than in another. The water in these lakes is, for the most part, muddy, especially in those where there are no springs, and the reason why it is so muddy is because of the strong wind and the dust that is in this country, which never allows the water to be clear, and also because of the numbers of cattle, buffaloes, cows, oxen, and other small cattle that drink in them. For you must know that in this land they do not slaughter oxen or cows; the oxen are beasts of burden and are like sumpter-mules;"

Paes identifies many familiar features of the geographical landscape and relates them explicitly to his home country. From the observations of Paes'

²⁰⁹ R. Sewell, *Op.cit.*

“There are many partridges, but they are not of the same sort or quality as ours: they are like the Westerns of Italy. “for all the rest is like the plains of Santerem”, “there are gardens with many orange trees, limes, citrons, and radishes, and other kinds of garden produce as in Portugal, only not lettuces and cabbages”.

When he notes differences, he talks of the different use and size of asses and crops not grown in Portugal. However, he doesn't have difficulties in describing shapes and forms.

Nuniz' account, described by Subrahmanyam as a hybrid of various local traditions, begins with the re-counting of the early 13th-century attack by the Sultanate of Delhi on an already existing kingdom of Vijayanagara (based in Anegundi, to the north of the Tungabhadra River).

Nuniz' story contains a variety of elements that are common to other contemporary South Indian historical texts. The hare versus hunting dogs story was widespread throughout South Asia, and features as an explanation for the founding and location of various cities-including the Sri Lankan city of Kandy Communities. This was the second outpost of the Portuguese in South Asia.

"The whole of the extensive site occupied by the ruins of Bijanugger on the south bank of the Tumbuddra, and of its suburb Anegundi on the northern bank, is occupied by great bare piles and bosses of granite and granitoid gneiss, separated by rocky defiles and narrow, rugged valleys encumbered by precipitated masses of rock. Some of the larger flat-bottomed valleys are irrigated by aqueducts from the river.[...]”²¹⁰.

Paes further narrates

²¹⁰ Verma, O.P., “The Role of Traders and Guilds in Indian Society”, *ITIHAS*, Vol. VI. No. 1, 1978, Pp. 35-52.

"The city has no seaport, the only approach to it being a small river". Barbosa supplements this account with more details. He writes: "This town is situated in the level country, it is very populous, and not walled; it is surrounded with many gardens, very good estates, and very fresh and abundant water". Though in this account he contradicts Varthema's remark that the city had a wall, yet he admits that Bhatkal was a "large town", "of very great trade in merchandise, inhabited by many Moors and Gentiles, very commercial people. And at this port congregate many ships from Orguz (Ormuz), to load very good white rice, sugar in powder, of which there is much in this country, for they do not know how to make it in loaves; and it is worth at the rate of two hundred and forty maravedis the arroba (i.e., quarter of hundred weight)". About its viceroy, he says: "This town produces much revenue to the King. Its governor is a Gentile; he is named Damaqueti. He is very rich in money and jewels. The King of Narsinga has given this place and others to a nephew of his, who rules and governs them, and lives in great State, and calls himself, king, but is in obedience to the king his uncle". To the Portuguese, this was an important centre of influence. Barbosa speaks of the ships bound for Aden, in the harbour of Bhatkal, "risking themselves, although it is forbidden them by the Portuguese", who prohibited the importation of spices and drugs. Bhatkal paid an annual tribute to the king of Portugal.

Nicolo di Conti, an Italian, visited Vijayanagar in the year 1420 or 1421 A.D. Nicolo after his entry into India, he travelled to the interior and reached Vijayanagar, the capital of Rayas, which he mentions "Bizenegalia" and begins his narrative by saying

"The great city of Bizenegalia, of which circumference is sixty miles, is located near mountains. The extent of the walls is raised up to the mountains and enclosed the valleys at their foot. It is estimated that there are ninety thousand men fit to bear arms."

Conti next describes the finding of diamonds on a mountain. He recounts the story of "Sinbad the Sailor," saying that "the diamonds lie in inaccessible valleys into which lumps of flesh being thrown to which the precious stones adhere to. These are carried up to the summits by eagles which are then driven off and the stones secured". He focuses on the east for mines on the Krishna. Marco Polo narrated the same story of the same mines in the year 1296.

Abdur Razzak, unlike the other foreign visitors, he visited Vijayanagar officially as an ambassador sent by Persian ruler to the court of Deva Raya II on January 13, A.D. 1442. He stepped into Calicut at the beginning of November 1442, where he stayed till April 1443. After his entry to Vijayanagar, travelled the great city till 5th December 1443 and presented the reasons for leaving Calicut in the following passage.

"The city of Bidjanagar is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world. It is built in such a manner that seven citadels and the same number of walls enclose each other. Around the first citadel are stones of the height of a man, one half of which is sunk in the ground while the other half rises above it. These are fixed one beside the other in such a manner that no horse or foot soldier could boldly or with ease approach the citadel."

Razzak unlike the other two gives a different narration of the city, which was distinguished by Sewell in his *Forgotten Empire*²¹¹.

"After being received at this entrance-gate Razzak must have passed down the slope through 'cultivated fields, houses, and gardens' to the entrance of Hospet. The town was not then thickly populated. From this point, the houses became thicker probably forming a long street with shops on either

²¹¹ Robert Sewell, *Op.cit.*

side of the road leading to the capital. The fourth line of the wall, with a strong gateway, is to be seen on the south of the present village of Malpanagudi where several remains of old buildings exist. The fifth line is on the north of Malpanagudi, and here the great gateway still stands, though the wall is much damaged and destroyed. The sixth line is passed just to the south of the Kamalapur tank. The seventh or inner line is the great wall still to be seen in fairly good repair north of that village. This last line surrounded the palace and the government buildings measuring roughly a mile from north to south and two miles and a quarter from east to west. The remains of the upright stones alluded to by Razzak were seen by Domingo Paes in A.D. 1520".

Razzak says "the outer citadel has a round shape built on the summit of a mountain which was built of stones and lime. It has very solid gates, the guards of which are constantly at their post, and examine everything with the severe inspection. This passage points to the outer line of the wall of 'seventh fortresses."

"The seventh fortress is to the north and is the palace of the king. The distance between the opposite gates of the outer fortress north and south is two parasangs and the same east to west."

The guards at the gates were the officers. The collection of octroi duties was given to them. The complete description was provided by lieutenant Newbold in 1845, an eminent South Indian Geologist.

"The whole of the extensive site occupied by the ruins of Bijanugger on the south bank of the Tumbuddra, and of its suburb Annegundi on the northern bank, is occupied by great bare piles and bosses of granite and granitoid gneiss, separated by rocky defiles and narrow, rugged valleys encumbered by precipitated masses of rock. Some of the larger flat-bottomed valleys are irrigated by aqueducts from the river.... The peaks, tors, and logging-stones of Bijanugger and Annegundi indent the horizon in picturesque confusion, and are scarcely to be distinguished from the more artificial ruins of the ancient metropolis of the Deccan, which are usually constructed with blocks quarried from their sides, and vie in grotesqueness of outline and massiveness

of character with the alternate airiness and solidity exhibited by nature in the nicely-poised logging stones and columnar piles, and in the walls of prodigious cubical blocks of granite which often crest and top her massive domes and ridges in natural cyclopean masonry."

"The remains of palaces, temples, walls, and gateways are still to be seen, and these abound not only on the site of Vijayanagar proper but also on the north side of the swiftly rushing river where stood the stately citadel of Anegundi, the mother of the empire-city. The population of this double city was immense, and the area occupied by it was very extensive. From the last fortification to the south, beyond the present town of Hospet, to the extreme point of the defences of Anegundi on the north, the distance is about twelve miles. From the extreme western line of walls in the plain to the last of the eastern amongst the hills lying in the direction of Daroji and Kampli the interval measures about ten miles. Within this area, we find the remains of the structures of which I have spoken. The hovels have disappeared, and the debris lies many feet thick over the old ground-level. But the channels are still in working order, and wherever they exist will be found rich crops, tall and stately trees, and a tangle of luxuriant vegetation. On the rocks above are the ruins of buildings and temples and walls. Many places are found with small shrines stand out built on the jutting edges of great boulders or the pinnacles of lofty crags".

In the focal walled area lie the remaining parts of magnificent structures eminent for their magnificence and pride encompassed by the ruler's royal residence. The site of the royal residence itself is particular with a huge territory of ground loaded up with stores of broken squares, squashed brick work, and sections of the model, not one stone being laid upon another in its unique place.

The other travellers to Vijayanagara apart from Domingo Paes, Nicolo Conti and Razzak, Nuniz give different accounts, his writing is filled with narrations of wars, embassy and king's details, he says

"Before the troops marched ahead the King had performed sacrifices as well as made his offerings to his idols and then set out from the city of Bisnaga. The chief of the guard (*O Porteiro Moor*) led the advance with thirty thousand infantry – archers, men with shields, and musketeers, and spearmen – and a thousand horse and his elephants. After him went Trimbicara with fifty thousand foot and two thousand horse and twenty elephants. After him went Timapanayque; he had with him sixty thousand foot and three thousand five hundred horse and thirty elephants; and after him went Adapanayque with one hundred thousand foot and five thousand horse and fifty elephants. After him came Comdamara, and he had one hundred and twenty thousand foot six thousand horse and sixty elephants; after him went Comara, and he had eighty thousand foot and of horse two thousand five hundred, and forty elephants; after him the forces of gemdraho, the governor of the city of Bisnaga, with one of his captains, who had one thousand horse and thirty thousand foot and ten elephants. After him went three eunuchs, favorites of the King, who had forty thousand foot and one thousand horse and fifteen elephants. The page who served the King with betel had fifteen thousand foot and two hundred horse, but he had no elephants. Comarberca had eight thousand foot and four hundred horse and twenty elephants. The people of the chief of Bengapor [540] went by another route with the people of Domar, who were very numerous; and in the same way went other captains of ten or twelve thousand men, of whom I make no mention, not knowing their names. The King took off his guard six thousand horse and forty thousand foot, the pick of all his kingdom, men with shields, archers, and three hundred elephants"²¹².

²¹² Ibid.

6.1.2 Depiction of the Baazars

Depictions on bazars are best given by Domingo Paes. He starts his narration from every corner of the city and introduces ports, streets, houses, temples and ceremonies performed in each place. He compares as “reaching the temple of Darcha he is reminded of Italy. Describing statues, he states that they are in Roman style, the entrance reminds him of the St Peter’s in Rome and little later he identifies footwear as resembling ancient Roman style”.

As Paes enters the city, his description is as followed²¹³

Beyond the city wall, we find another circle of fortification that leads to the gate. Beyond the gate, there is a large street leading to the main junction. Behind the junction we find the large royal palace encircled by walls. Beyond the palace, there are bazaar streets, and at last, we reach the Muslim quarter. We see many small temples and the large complexes north, on the other side of the river.

"opposite to its principal gate which is to the east, there is a very beautiful street of very beautiful houses with balconies and arcades, in which are sheltered the pilgrims that come to it, and there are also houses for the lodging of the upper classes. The king has a palace in the same street, in which he resides when he visits this pagoda. There is a pomegranate tree above this first gate, the gate has a very lofty tower all covered with rows of men and women and hunting scenes and many other representations, and as the tower goes narrowing towards the top, so the images diminish in size.

There lies an extensive yard by the principal door and a huge court with enclosed buildings with roofs all around on mainstays of stone with another entryway of an indistinguishable kind from the first. Once the second entryway opens there is a court and at the focal point of such courtroom lies the place of the symbol.

²¹³ Subramanyam and Balasubrahmanyam, J.K. (ed.), *Achyutaraya Abhyudayam*, Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, 1973, p.133.

Next, you have a fair every evening when they sell many common horses and nags, many citrons, and limes, and oranges, and grapes, and every other kind of garden stuff, and wood. This city has three fortresses which are the king's palace. Then there are many craftsmen who sell many things. There are temples in every street. But the principal and greatest pagodas are outside the city.

In this street lodged Christovao de Figueiredo, on every Friday a fair is held. There were varieties of fowls, pigs, dried fish and similar such birds available for trade. At the end of this street lies remote areas where the people of the same country live and are patronized by the Lord. In this city, people of every nation are sighted because they come for doing business-especially precious stones like diamonds²¹⁴.

6.1.3 Depiction of Ceremonies

Festivals and ceremonies are much adorned and narrated by Nuniz. He says

"Thrice in the year festivals are celebrated. On one of these occasions, the men and women of all ages bathe in the river or the sea and clothe themselves in new garments. They spend three entire days in singing, dancing, and feasting. On another of these festivals they fix up within their temples, and on the outside on the roofs, an innumerable number of lamps of oil of SUSIMANNI, which are kept burning day and night. On the third, which lasts nine days, they set up in all the highways large beams, like the masts of small ships, to the upper part of which are attached pieces of very beautiful cloth of various kinds, interwoven with gold. On the summit of each of these beams is each day placed a man of pious aspect, dedicated to religion, capable of enduring all things with equanimity, which is to pray for the favour of God. These men are assailed by the people, who pelt them with oranges, lemons,

²¹⁴ Robert Sewell, *Op.cit.*, p.283.

and other odoriferous fruits, all which they bear most patiently. There are also three other festival days, during which they sprinkle all passers-by, even the king and queen themselves, with saffron water, placed for that purpose by the wayside. This is received by all with much laughter."

Nuniz gives an account of religious customs and practices

"At a certain time of the year, their idol is carried through the city, placed between two chariots, in which are young women richly adorned, who sing hymns to the god and accompanied by a great concourse of people. Many, carried away by the fervour of their faith, cast themselves on the ground before the wheels; in order that they may be crushed to death a mode of death which they say is very acceptable to their god. Others, making an incision in their side, and inserting a rope thus through their body, hang themselves to the chariot by way of ornament, and thus suspended and half-dead accompany their idol. This kind of sacrifice they consider the best and most acceptable of all.

Paes describes and witnesses the Durga festival in detail along with the rites and forms of prayers, but curiously enough he does not name any of the Gods and Goddesses, and he does not know the name of the festival. This implies that he sees the activities as civilised, quasi-familiar ones. One instance, the sight of the Goddess in a cage, directly reminds him of a religious procession known from Lisbon. He is not alienated neither by the abundance of religious symbols, naturally non-Christian nor by the large-scale animal sacrifice, although he explicitly takes the outsider position. He does not relate to any beliefs and does not describe the physical representation of the 'idols' that he saw.

Abdur Razzak was a spectator of brilliant festivals like *Mahanavami*. He affirms that it falls in the month Rajab (October 25th to November 23rd, 1443 A.D.). The Hindus perform *Mahanavami* for nine days begins on the next day of the new moon which symbolizes the fall of the month Asvina. And the New Year's Day falls in the next month *Karttika*. But the fact is the new moon of *Karttika*, and the new moon of Rajab in A.D. 1443 can't fall in *Asvina*, according to Razzak. Therefore, there is a confusion to say it as either New Year Day festival or the month "Rajab." Logically it is understood as New Year Day because the festival is celebrated only one day. The *Mahanavami* celebrations commenced with the new moon, whereas Razzak says that the festival he witnessed began with the "full moon." All this might have been resulted because of losing foot on writing²¹⁵.

Paes gives the depiction about temples ceremonies.

"still going forward, passing to the other gate you see two temples connected with it, one on each side, and at the door of one of these they kill every day many sheep, for in all the city they do not kill any sheep for the use of the heathen (Hindus), or for sale in the markets, except at the gate of this pagoda. Of their blood, they make sacrifices to the idol that is in the temple. They leave the heads to him, and for each sheep, they give a *Saco* (*Chakram*), which is a coin like a *Cartilha* (*Quartilha* – a farthing). There is present at the slaughter of these beasts a *Jogi* (priest) who has charge of the temple, and as soon as they cut off the head of the sheep or goat, this *Jogi* blows a horn as a sign that the idol receives that sacrifice. Hereafter I shall tell of these *Jogis*, what sort of men they are.

Paes gives a detailed description of nine-day ceremonies in temples. Each day is more splendid than the other.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

6.1.4 Depiction of Merchants

The houses of men are affluent enough to afford all kinds of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, seed-pearls, clothes etc., which might be worth buying.

6.1.5 Depiction of Commodities

Paes stops at the market for a while and records the costs for wild winged animals and depicts the assortment of probably staple nourishment. This city has everything on the planet, and is all around supplied with arrangements: wheat, grains, rice, Indian-corn, and a specific measure of grain and beans, moong, beats, horse-gram, [418] and numerous different seeds that develop in this nation which are the sustenance of the General population.

There is substantial store for grains and are sold at an extremely less expensive cost however wheat isn't so basic as alternate grains since nobody eats it yet for the Fields. There is much poultry; they offer three fowl in the city for a coin worth a *Vintem*, [which coins are called *Favaos*; outside the city, they offer four fowl for a *Vintem*.

The business sectors offer different sorts of wild fowl and different winged creatures which live in the lakes and which resemble geese. Every one of these feathered creatures and amusement creatures is sold alive, and they are exceptionally modest, for they offer six or eight partridges for a *Vintem*, and of bunnies, they offer two and at times one. Of different fowls, they give more than you can check, for even of the huge ones they offer such huge numbers of that you would scarcely give careful consideration to the little ones they offer you, for example, pigeons and pigeons and the regular winged creatures of the nation. The birds are of two kinds; some take after those found in Portugal, others are as large as thrushes; of the birds, they give twelve or fourteen for a *Favao*; the pigeons are sold at indistinguishable cost from alternate feathered creatures. Sheep, lamb, pork are sold.

At that place, there are a few heaps of limes that come every day and furthermore huge amounts of sweet and acrid oranges, and wild brinjals, and other garden stuff in such bounty. The measure of margarine and oil and drain sold each day, the raising of cows and wild oxen go ahead in the city. There are numerous pomegranates additionally; grapes are sold at three groups a Fanam, and pomegranates ten for a *Fanam*.

There are cows, he-goats, buffaloes which are so large in number. They are usually bridled and are ridden over by the boys. On each Friday a reasonable is composed of numerous pigs, dried fish from the ocean, and the deliver of the nation. Garcia da Orta, who was in India in 1534, says that at Vijayanagar a jewel had been found that was as vast as a little hen's egg, and he even insists the weights of three others to have been separately 120, 148, and 250 *Mangelis*, proportional to 150, 175, and 312 1/2 carats²¹⁶.

6.2.0 Depiction of People in the Urban Centre – Royalty

The travellers' accounts are confined to royalty and urban centres as the travelers visited Vijayanagara are mostly traders. Paes narrates the king Krishna Devaraya

This king is of medium height, and of fair complexion and good figure, rather fat than thin, he has on his face signs of small-pox. He is the most feared and perfect king that could be, cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners, and receives them kindly, asking about all their affairs whatever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage, and this is his title – ‘Crisnarao Macacao’ king of kings, lord of the greater lords of India, lord of the three seas and of the land.” He has this title because he is by rank a greater lord than any, by reason of what he possesses in armies and territories, but it seems that he has

²¹⁶ M.N. Pearson, Pamila Gupta, Isabel Hofmeyr, *Eyes Across the Indian Ocean*, Unisa Press, 2010, p.256.

(in fact) nothing compared to what a man like him ought to have, so gallant and perfect is he in all things. This king was constantly at war with the king of Oriya, and entered his kingdom, taking and destroying many cities and towns; he put to rout numbers of his soldiers and elephants, and took captive his son, whom he kept for a long time in this city of Bisnaga, where he died; and in order to make a treaty and (preserve) peace, the king of Oriya gave him a daughter whom the king of Bisnaga married as his wife.

Paes give descriptions about royal officials, narrates following:

"In this city, the king held another review of the troops of his guard, and he distributed pay to all because it was the beginning of the year, and it is their custom to pay salaries year by year. An inspection is held by the officers of his house, and they write down the name of each one, and the marks that he has on his face or body. There are men of the guard who have a thousand pardos pay, and other eight hundred, others six hundred and more, and a little more or less; there is a difference, and also a difference in the persons. Some men of them who are of higher rank than others have two horses or three, and others have no more than one. These troops have their captains, and each captain goes with his guard to mount guard at the palace according to order and custom; the king has in his guard five hundred horse, and these watch outside the palace armed with their weapons. There are two watches inside, and people with swords and shields".

The evidence of Nuniz cannot be made to reconcile with that of Paes as regards the number of the King's guard.

King's guards are well narrated by Nuniz. Thus writes Nuniz in his Chronicle:

At the point when the Ruler rides out there run with him Generally two hundred horsemen of his protect whom he pays, and a hundred elephants, and this notwithstanding the chiefs, forty or fifty in number,

who are dependably in participation with their fighters. He takes with him two thousand men with shields, all men of good position, went all together on the flanks, and in front runs the boss alcaid with around thirty horsemen having sticks in their grasp like watchmen; the boss alcaid bears an alternate wand; he who is presently boss alcaid of this Ruler is called Chinapanaique. Behind with the rearguard goes the Ace of the Steed with two hundred horsemen, and behind the mounted force go a hundred elephants, and on their backs ride men of high home. He has before him twelve destriers, saddled and before these ponies go five elephants, particularly for the Lord's individual, and before these elephants go around five-and-twenty horsemen with flags in their grasp, and with drums and trumpets and other music playing so noisily that you can hear nothing. Before these go an extraordinary drum conveyed by men along the edges, and they go now and then striking it; the sound of this is heard a long distance off, and this drum is called picha. The king counts the two hundred horsemen and the hundred elephants and the other soldiers after the King has mounted".

According to Barbosa,

"all the king's horses and elephants are well fed and cared for, at his cost: and the grandees, to whom he gives a great quantity of them, act in the same manner with their knights".

The expedition of A.D. 1366, the king "commanded the brahmins to deliver every day to the troop's discourses on the merit of slaughtering the Mahomedans, to excite the zeal of his soldiers. He encouraged the Brahmins, also to arouse their indignation, and confirm their hatred of the enemy, by representing them as the destroyers of temples, and of the images of their gods, and also as the slaughterers of cows".

Abdur Razzak narrates

In pursuance of orders issued by the king of Bidjanagar, the Generals and principal personages from all parts of his empire ... presented themselves at the palace. They brought with them a thousand elephants ... which were covered with brilliant armour and with castles magnificently adorned.... During three consecutive days in the month of Redjeb the vast space of land magnificently decorated, in which the enormous elephants were congregated together, presented the appearance of the waves of the sea, or of that compact mass which will be assembled at the day of the resurrection.

Over this magnificent space were erected numerous pavilions, to the height of three, four, or even five storeys, covered from top to bottom with figures in relief.... Some of these pavilions were arranged in such a manner that they could turn rapidly round and present a new face: at each moment a new chamber or a new hall presented itself to the view.

"In the front a palace nine pavilions magnificently ornamented were erected. In the seventh was allocated a place to the humble author of this narrative[....] Between the palace and the pavilions were situated, musicians and storytellers." Girls in magnificent dresses carry out various performances. The jugglers, on the other hand, showed their talent. Elephants were wonderfully trained. Fireworks, games, and amusements went on.

Domingo Paes gives a vivid description of the ports and royal palaces along with the city outline; his descriptions start from the point he entered the empire of Vijayanagara, he says

Now turning to the gates of the first range, I say that at the entrance of the gate where those pass who come from Goa, which is the principal entrance on the western side; this king has made within it a very strong city fortified with walls and towers, and the gates at the entrances very strong, with towers at the gates; these walls are not like those of other cities, but are made of very strong masonry such as would be found in

few other parts and inside very beautiful rows of buildings made after their manner with flat roofs.

The lord was clad in white weaved with numerous roses in gold. He went barefooted. Individuals strolled about the nation barefooted. The shoes had pointed closures. The ruler offered every last one of the Portuguese a material weaved with numerous pretty figures as a custom. He gave it in token of kinship and love.

6.2.1 Depiction of People in the Urban Centers: Common Man

The first accounts of urban people are given by Firishtah. But historians have later found much bias in the writings of Firishtah when dealing with Hindu subjects. According to him, the Hindus and Muhammadans continued to work in harmony, as is proved by the aid which the latter gave the former about this time. The reason for the alliance between the two people is told by Firishtah.

"During the absence of Ramaraj from his capital, his two brothers, Timraj and Govindraj, who were placed in the government of Adony, took advantage of his absence, usurped the control not only of Adony, but collecting a force, and compelled several other districts to submit to their authority". Rama Raja demonstrated in vain, and "unable to subdue them, was induced to send ambassadors to the court of Golconda to solicit assistance. Ibrahim Kootb Shah immediately dispatched Kubool Khan, at the head of six thousand cavalry and ten thousand infantry, to join Ramraj. On reaching Beejanuggur, Ramaraj ordered his troops into the field; and having directed Sidraj Timapa, Noor khan, and Bijly Khan, with their different corps, to join the subsidiary force, he ordered them to march against the rebels..." The rebel brothers were defeated but magnanimously pardoned by Rama Raja, who, after recalling the forces to the capital, handsomely rewarded Kubul Khan and sent him back

South India is quite in contrast with northern India which was under muslim control in the 13th C A.D (Kulke and Rothermond 1990,1984).

Paes gives his account of the Brahmins who played an important role in the common people of Vijayanagara and narrates one incidence that shows the importance of brahmins.

"These Brahmans are like friars with us, and they count them as holy men – I speak of the Brahman priests and the lettered men of the pagodas – because although the king has many Brahmans, they are officers of the towns and cities and belong to the government of them; others are merchants, and others live by their property and cultivation, and the fruits which grow in their inherited grounds. Those who have charge of the temples are learned men, and eat nothing which suffers death, neither flesh nor fish, nor anything which makes broth red, for they say that it is blood. Some of the other Brahmans whom I mentioned, who seek to serve God, and to do penance, and to live a life like that of the priests, do not eat flesh or fish or any other thing that suffers death, but only vegetables and butter and other things which they make of fruit, with their rice. They are all married, and have very beautiful wives; the wives are very retiring, and very seldom leave the house. The women are of light colour, and in the caste of these Brahmans are the fairest men and women that there are in the land; fo though there are men in other castes commonly of light complexion, yet these are few. There are many in this country, who calls themselves Brahmans, but they lead a life very different from those of whom I have spoken, for these last are men to whom the king pays much honour, and he holds them in great favour."

Varthema, who undertook his travels between the years A.D. 1502 and 1508, while speaking about Honnavuru, then called by the foreigners, Onore, says: "... and some kinds of animals are found here, viz., wild hogs, stags, wolves, lions, and a great number of birds different from ours; there are also many

peacocks and parrots there. They have the beef of cows, which is real cows, and sheep in abundance. Roses, flowers, fruits are found here all throughout the year". The same traveler visiting Bhatkal remarked thus about the animals in that city: "Neither horses nor mules nor asses, are customary here, but there are cows, buffaloes, sheep, oxen and goats". to Golkonda.

Duarte Barbosa in A.D. 1514 wrote the following about the animals in Tuluva-Nadu, which he calls Tulinat, and on the Western Ghauts:

"This range (i.e. the Western Ghauts in Tuluva) is peopled in several parts, with good towns and villages, very luxuriant in water and delicious fruit; and in it there are many wild boars, and large and fine deer, many leopards, ounces, lions, tigers, bears and some animals of an ashy color, which look like horses, very active and which cannot be caught (i.e. 'the Nil-cow or Blue Cow'). There are serpents with wings, which fly, very venomous so that their breath and looks kill

There are many wild elephants; and many stones of geyonzas, amethysts, and soft sapphires are discovered in the rivers where they are deposited. They carry them from the mountains to put them up for sale in the Malabar towns, where they are wrought".

It seems as if the people of Vijayanagara, in spite of their rearing many sheep, were ignorant of the manufacturing of woollen fabrics. We gather this from Paes himself. While describing the king's palace and the "House of Victory", with its beautiful scaffoldings, he says: "Let no one fancy that these cloths were of wool, because there are none such in the country, but they are of very fine cotton". Perhaps because of the hot climate, the people dispensed with woollen clothes.

Commenting on the short life of the horses brought from abroad, Barbosa says: "These horses live, but for a short time, they are not bred in this country, for all of them are brought there from the kingdom of Ormuz and that of Cambay, and on that account, and for the great need of them, they are worth so much money".

Varthema, too, has something to say about the Persian horses. "He (i.e., Narsinga, Emperor of Vijayanagara) is a very powerful king, and keeps up constantly 40,000 horsement. And you must know that a horse is worth at least 300, 400 and 500 pardai and some are purchased for 800 pardai, because horses are not produced there, neither are many mares found there because those kings who hold the seaports do now allow them to be brought together".

According to Barbosa, "the elephants were priced at fifteen hundred to two thousand ducats each. The Vijayanagara monarchs maintained elephants for purposes of State, war and trade. The State elephant is thus described by 'Abdur Razzak:

"The King has a white elephant exceedingly large, with here and there as many as thirty spots of colour". We shall see later on how elephants were made use of in the meeting out of justice by the Vijayanagara administrators.

It is Paes who informs us that the monarch

"had eight hundred elephants attached to his person", and that the care of these elephants was given over to the captains. We are unable for the present to form any estimate of the volume of foreign trade in connection with horses and elephants in Vijayanagara times.

6.2.2 People who are performing traditions

He tries to give an incisive interpretation of the role of Brahmins and that of the "dancer girls" and other important women of the court---Paes says,

One instance, the sight of the Goddess in a cage, directly reminds him of a religious procession known from Lisbon. He describes statues and ornaments in detail as he sees them on temples, but he does it for his admiration of the technical and artistic qualities of the buildings. It is important to emphasise that Paes did not attempt to enter the transcendent universe of Hampi.

6.2.3 Service Groups

Paes gives the account of woman and eunuchs who are used by the royalty and people of Vijayanagara for their carnal pleasure and hospitality. Other kinds of people that give services to royalty and temples are wrestlers, jugglers, artists, reciters and people of many castes and creeds, they give their services, and they are paid.

“These women are of loose character, and live in the best streets that there are in the city; it is the same in all their cities, their streets have the best rows of houses They are very much esteemed, and are classed amongst those honoured ones who are the mistresses of the captains; any respectable man may go to their houses without any blame attaching thereto. These women (are allowed) even to enter the presence of the wives of the king, and they stay with them and eat betel with them, a thing which no other person may do, no matter what his rank may be. This betel is an herb which has a leaf like the leaf of the pepper, or the ivy of our country; they always eat this leaf, and carry it in their mouths with another fruit called areca. This is something like a medlar, but it is very hard, and it is very good for the breath and has many other virtues; it is the best provision for those who do not eat as we do. Some of them eat flesh; they eat all kinds except beef and pork, and yet, nevertheless, they cease not to eat this betel The king lives by himself inside the palace, and when he wishes to have with him one of his wives he orders a 110 eunuch to go and call her. The eunuch does not enter where she is and make known to the queen that there is a message from the king. Amongst these eunuchs the king has some who are great favourites, and who sleep where he sleeps; they receive a large salary all day. Then the wrestlers begin their play. Their wrestling does not seem like ours, but there are blows (given), so severe as to break teeth, and put out eyes, and disfigure faces, so much so that here and their men are carried off speechless by their friends; they give one another fine falls too. They have their captains and judges, who are there to put

each one on an equal footing in the field, and also to adjust the honours to him who wins.

Nuniz give a deep account of the services and people who give services at the camp of King during his travel and the war.

"All the camp was scattered into normal boulevards. Each skipper's division has been reserved its market where you discover a wide range of meat, for example, sheep, goats, pigs, fowls, bunnies, partridges and different feathered creatures. Also, you find numerous unlimited strains of rice, grains, Indian-corn, vetches (MINGUO), and different seeds that they eat. Aside from these things, which are fundamental, they had another (advertise) where you could discover in incredible bounty everything that you require. There were experts working in their boulevards. There were seen dealers of fabric, and these were sought after given cotton. There were likewise to be seen grass and straw in interminable wealth. It is a riddle how there is a bounty of everything in that. Any one can envision how much grass and straw would be required every day for the utilization of thirty-two thousand four hundred ponies and five hundred and fifty-one elephants, [548] to state nothing of the sumpter-donkeys and asses, and the great numbers of oxen which carry all the supplies and many other burdens, such as tents and other things. Indeed, one would ever dream that a war was going on, but would soon realize that he was in a prosperous city. Then one should see the numbers of drums and trumpets and other musical instruments that they use. When they strike up their music as a sign that they would give before a battle it would seem as if the heavens must fall; and if it happened that a bird came flying along at the time when they made such a terrific noise, it used to come down through terror of not being able to get clear of the camp, and so they would catch it in their hands; principally kites, of which they caught many".

6.2.4 Women

Domingo Paes pays much attention to the social issue and gives the accounts on Woman. His description of women and religious life reflect on aspects that are central to interpreting the way Paes saw the other. As Edward Said and a range of feminist scholar argue sexuality is central to the Western understanding of the Orient, and of colonization itself. At the same time, not understanding religious beliefs is just a short step away from seeing it inferior as the Jesuit experience of the second half of the 16th-century shows. Paes writes of scenes including women on four occasions. This picture clashes sharply both with how the literature presents the declining position and visibility of European women in the times of counter-reformation

First, he talks of the king's wives who are supposed to be twelve in number. The traveller also knows of three principles wives the existence of whom is partially corroborated by contemporary inscriptions.

Paes acknowledges the existence of both political and love marriages and allows both women (the daughter of the king of Orissa and the former mistress) to be principles ones.

Paes is not particularly disturbed by the story and does not comment on it at length. Instead, he spends a passage on the wealth of the wives and the unusual gender roles

The extract Paes writings on Woman is given by Sewell

“[...] there are women, who handle sword and shield, and others who wrestle, and others who blow trumpets, and others pipes and others instruments that are different from ours....”

The picture that emerges depicts women who are either powerful or independent or both. The passage on the sexual habits of the king is particular. It reflects on the delicate balance of power within the court. In doing so, it acknowledges the power and influence of sexual desire. The second occasion to talk about women is the great Durga festival of September.

Here, along with the wealth of wives, the phenomenon of dancing girls is also presented. The translators themselves had more difficulty in defining and accepting the existence of devadasis than Paes himself. Paes goes on with the description of the dance noting that the girls are fair and young. He finally defines them as "maids of honour to the queen". The importance of dance reoccurs once more in the narrative towards the end where Paes describes the pillars of the temple he visited on the far side of the river. He noted that the dancing figures are painted at the stages where a movement should end.

These women are of loose character, and reside in the best streets in the city; it is the same in all their cities, their streets have the best rows of houses. They are very much honoured, and are classed amongst those honoured ones who are the mistresses of the captains; any respectable man may go to their houses without any blame being attached thereto. These women are allowed even to enter in the presence of the wives of the king, and they spend with them and chew betel with them, a thing which no other person may do, no matter what his rank may be. This betel is a herb which has a leaf-like the leaf of the pepper, or the ivy of our country; they always eat this leaf, and carry it in their mouths with another fruit named areca. This is something like a medlar, but it is very hard, and it is very good for the breath and has many other medicinal qualities; it is the best provision for those who do not eat as we do. Some of them eat flesh; they eat all kinds save beef and pork, and yet, nevertheless, they cease not to eat this betel. The king lives by himself inside the palace, and when he wishes to have with him one of his wives he sends a 110 eunuch for her. The eunuch does not enter where she is, but passes the message to the female guards, who inform the queen that there is a message from the king, and then comes one of her maidens or chamber-women and learns what is wanted, and then the queen goes where the king is, or the king comes where she is, and so passes the time as it seems good to him without any of the others knowing. Amongst these eunuchs, the king has some favourites, and they sleep where he sleeps; they receive a large salary all day.

Nicolo Conti says

"The inhabitants of this region marry as many wives as they please, who are burnt with their dead husbands. Their king is more powerful than all the other kings of India. He takes to himself 12,000 wives, of whom 4000 follow him on foot wherever he may go, and are employed solely in the service of the kitchen. A like number, more handsomely equipped, ride on horseback. The remainder is carried by men in litters, of whom 2000 or 3000 are selected as his wives on condition that at his death they should voluntarily burn themselves with him, which is considered to be a great honour for them [...]

6.3.1 Exoticism – Examples

He is most astonished by the sight of a large tree “under which we lodged three hundred and twenty horses”. This exoticism was first expressed by Paes also observed the same from Elephants, camels, acrobats, tools of artisans, dress, ritual wear.

6.3.2 Infanilization

Phillip B. Wagoner says

"Despite the growing tendency to recognize the seminal role of real politik in the formulation of Vijayanagara's diplomatic and military policy, it remains a deeply entrenched notion that in the realm of cultural policy South India is quite different in contrast with northern India. It came under Muslim rule in the 13th C A.D (Kulke and Rothermond 1990,1984)

The cultural influence has appeared in the dress and titles of people are observed by the researches from 14th and 15th centuries onwards. The garment types which are traditional dresses of Muslim are kabaya, Arab qaba,

and khullayi a conical cap. These court type dresses for men are evident in the culture of Vijayanagara.

Among all the other travelers, Paes pays much more attention to the dressing of royalty, woman and people; he gives vivid accounts on the dressing of King and woman

The king was clad in certain white cloths embroidered with many roses in gold, and with a jewellery of diamonds on his neck of very great value, and on his head he had a cap of brocade in fashion like a Galician helmet, covered with a piece of fine stuff all of the fine silk, and he was barefooted; for no one ever enters where the king is unless he was barefooted, and the majority of the people, or almost all, go about the country barefooted. The shoes have pointed ends, anciently, and there are other shoes that have nothing but soles, but on top are some straps which help to keep them on the feet. They are made like those which of old the Romans wanted to wear, as you will find on figures in some papers or antiquities which come from Italy.

There the king sits, clad in white clothes all covered with (embroidery of) golden roses and wearing his jewels – he has a quantity of these white garments on, and I always saw him so dressed – and around him stand his pages with his betel, and his sword, and the other things which are his insignia of state. Many Brahmans stand round the throne on which rests the idol, fanning it with horsetail plumes, coloured, the handles of which are all overlaid with gold; these plumes are tokens of the highest dignity; they also fan the king with them. Then you will see issuing from inside twenty-five or thirty female doorkeepers with canes in their hands and whips on their shoulders, and close to these come many eunuchs. Later many women playing many trumpets and drums and pipes (but not like ours) and viols, and many other kinds of music and behind these women will come some twenty women-porters with canes in their hands all covered with silver. They wear very rich and fine silk clothes. Collars on the neck with jewels of gold very richly set

with many emeralds and diamonds and rubies and pearls. On the lower part of the arms many bracelets with half of the upper arm, all bare have armlets. Many girdles of gold are worn. They carry in their hands vessels of gold each as large as a small cask of water. There are some loops made of pearls fastened with wax and inside all this a lighted lamp.

They come in line one preceding the other in all maybe sixty ladies reasonable and youthful from sixteen to twenty years old. These ladies are housekeepers of respect to the rulers as are the others that run with them. On every day of these nine long periods of the devour one of the rulers sends, each all alone day, her women with the others. The authorities have the days separated between them as per their custom. These ladies come each day most lavishly attired, enjoying strewing themselves in such things and presentations what she has.

“They have very rich and fine silk cloths; on the head they wear high caps which they call COLLAES, and on these caps they wear flowers made of large pearls; collars on the neck with jewels of gold very richly set with many emeralds and diamonds and rubies and pearls; and besides this many strings of pearls, and others for shoulder-belts; on the lower part of the arms many bracelets, with half of the upper arm all bare, having armlets in the same way all of precious stones. The waist has many girdles of gold and precious stones which hang in order one below the other almost as far down as half the thigh. Besides these belts have other jewels and pearls round the ankles. They wear very rich anklets even of greater value than any other pearl or jewel”.

Summary of the chapter:

When one reads the European representations of Vijayanagara and later on follows it up by reading the indigenous representations of Vijayanagara we are confronted with two worldviews both of which rarely meet at times with similar geography. The European view of Vijayanagara includes certain aspects like generalisations of the East with the Oriental despot and the neatly ordered bazaar on one side and the chaos and bustle of the people. In other words, it shows the paradox of prosperity but not of order. To go on this disorder and also these riches need an absolute monarch whose power was flowing from the control of these resources. The base of these resources, the transformation of mineral and metal into other products after processing by the artisans rested on the agrarian prosperity. As the two wheels of the vehicle, only one wheel the artisanal production and the urban centre is shown without linkage to the other wheel which gives a distorted image of Vijayanagara as only a city centre.

The representation of Vijayanagara as a functional urban centre negates its role as a sacred and religious centre characterised by the temples and the different religious establishments and also the religious nature of the other monuments all of which were an offshoot of the mediaeval bhakti movement. The role of the King, therefore, was not only sanctioned by legitimacy derived from political authority but also from religious authority through his performance of functions which is described by European authorities but without any sacred investment in the same. For the common man in Vijayanagara, this great investment was seen in the form of a divine spectacle wherein the word *Darshana* was used to signify a visit to a temple and also used to sanctify the person of the King was now a semi-divine being this intricacy is totally missed out by the European representations.

Furthermore, in a recent article it is being argued that this building of religious and political function in the personhood of the King not only confirmed to Hindu rituals but also included certain aspects of Indo-Islamic

culture particularly in the usage of the dress that was a stitched dress which was not used in Hindu religious ceremonies and at the same time the colour green that symbolised the Islamic religious tradition. The representation of these aspects and their incorporation also shows the flexibility of tradition and Vijayanagara is therefore not ossified or back in time. This characteristic was also entirely missed out by the European travellers giving an exotic element to Vijayanagara.

In the final analysis, we may say that the representation of the urban centre is partial and uses European frames of reference that bestows on Vijayanagara the nature of a Hindu state. Whereas, in reality, it was a hybrid urban centre both regarding material culture and also the social, religious and political culture. We may thus conclude by ending that the hybrid character of Vijayanagara absorbed in newer elements over a period and one of the surprising representations is of Portuguese horseman in the iconography that was unconventional in terms of the iconographic tradition of India which is present in the temple courtyard of Vijayanagara that shows the capacity for hybridity.

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**A thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the award of**

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN HISTORY**

By

P. JAYARAJU



**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
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CHAPTER-VII

CONCLUSION

In this case, an attempt is made to understand the role of global travellers creating the perception of the imperial city of Vijayanagara as one of the potent interventions in the historical writing of South India. Beginning with a survey of the landscape of Vijayanagara, the work tries to investigate the role of different factors that led to the establishment of a durable polity in mediaeval South India. This political formation was known as the Vijayanagara empire became one of the landmarks in the history not only of South India but also of mediaeval India and the early modern period of South Asian history. As one of the last durable empires in the mediaeval period before the onset of transition to British India, the Vijayanagara empire this is a role model in shaping the political, social, cultural and above all the economic structure of a large part of Deccan and mediaeval South India. This heritage is still continuing on account of the durable structures in irrigation, social institutions and the monumental architecture which is replicated.

In addition, the formation of modern linguistic states also was in large part, particularly the languages of Kannada, Telugu, Tamil and to a large extent, Sanskrit which acquired the status of language is used for official and literary compositions. It is this multifaceted role of the region that is arrived at after centuries of development that led to the city and countryside as part of a prosperous Empire that lasted for more than three centuries. The territories extended as far beyond as far as Orissa in the East and surprisingly not only the deep south of the Tamil country but also Sri Lanka. It was in this region of Sri Lanka where the mercenaries were named as the oligarchs and were a powerful element in the last ruling house at Kandy Sri Lanka. Keeping in mind this monumental legacy, one is, therefore, forced to undertake the task of evaluating the role of Vijayanagara through the primary sources. It is this

point of departure that makes the exercise of examining the legacy of Vijayanagara a problem as the primary sources comprising of the literature, primarily in Kannada and Telugu languages and the numerous inscriptions numbering more than 2000 and also the hydrological remains speak in a voice that is conveying the political, economic-agrarian and trade and above all the religious currents of the period.

In contrast to the sources, we have another set of sources that talk of the splendour of Vijayanagara from a European perspective and is comprised the travel writing of the authors that have been taken for assessment in this work. One finds a significant departure regarding thematic content and also the treatment of the subject matter in the European Works which is the main area of contention in this thesis. While the representation of Vijayanagara fits in with the larger picture of a state in mediaeval south India, travel narratives speak in an entirely different voice.

In the main findings of the thesis, a problem of representation is encountered between the diverse sources and the resulting images of Vijayanagara that are different. The differing images of Vijayanagara as a war state or a feudal state therefore rests on this nature of the sources and the treatment of the themes. To begin with, as shown by Vasundhara Filliozat, the name of the empire was not Vijayanagara but *Karnataka Samrajya*. The question arises as to how come this discrepancy has risen and become the major signifier of this political formation. When you look at the travel writings of the Portuguese traveller Nuniz, he employs the term Vijayanagara which is the main source for the later historian George Sewell's monumental work on the study of the Vijayanagara. It is with the rise of Sewell's writings a century ago that the idea of Vijayanagara became established and had displaced the other narratives. One of the cardinal errors in nomenclature has thus become an accepted form and conventional term to understand this great empire. The cause for this discrepancy is the reliance by George Sewell on the travel writings of the

Portuguese traveller Nuniz. Therefore, the nomenclature arising from the identification of a city with an empire becomes generalised in later writings, and the reproduction of this generalisation is leading to a genealogy of generalisations, which in the final analysis have distorted the meaning of the Empire.

After the writing of George Sewell, another set of writings accompanying the nationalist period in Indian history started in the 1930s, during which the image of this ruling house was in a fix with the term Hindu. One of the effects of this exercise was the identification of Vijayanagara as a Hindu empire during the height of the nationalist movement and history was thus being read backwards. The analysis of the travel writers is also credited to this aspect on account of the peculiar nature of European history during the 15th century. In the aftermath of the Crusades in Europe, another strand that continues to influence the history of the Iberian Peninsula was the unfinished persistence of the Moorish kingdom of Spain who ruled for 700 years in the region of Spain and Portugal. It is only after the union of Spain and Portugal under the able rulership of Ferdinand and Isabella and the union of Castile and Aragon that led to the re-conquest of the Iberian Peninsula from the Arab invaders. What followed later was Spanish inquisition in which, the enemies of Christendom were identified as the Moors and Jews. The expulsion of these groups of people was also the othering of these groups. In this heightened climate of political and religious frenzy, following the Crusades, the emergence of a newly dominant form of Christianity in southern Europe characterised the mood of the period. Ignatius of Loyola founded the order of the Society of Jesus had initially named this as soldiers of Jesus and reflects the crusading zeal in all aspects of life. The Portuguese intervention in India and its effect on indigenous Christian communities of Malabar is well-documented, but the neighbouring regions of the coastal continue up to Goa are not the subject of any major study. It is in this region of Vijayanagara that the Portuguese encountered Muslims in a large number as adversaries of the Vijayanagara and therefore the dichotomy of the Hindu and Muslim suited a binary

narrative. In reality, when they examine the other sources, we find that a significant number of Muslims were employed in the military and also in the armaments' sector in the Vijayanagara. The condition of the Muslim as the other was also taken up by the nationalist historians based on the wrong generalisations of the European travel writers, religious communities as units in their historical evolution of the state. However, at the ground level, we find that not only were Muslim archers and other soldiers employed, but they also have evidence of their religious structures being patronised, and more importantly, there is an influence of Islamic architecture in the Vijayanagara building style. Most notable among them is the Lotus Mahal with its arches giving a clear idea of the synthesis of different cultural forms that did not have any religious significance. More importantly, in a recent article, Philip Wagoner has argued that while the ritual of Mahanavami was one of the most important festivals which reasserted the coronation of the ruler and is read as a Hindu festival by the Orientalists and European travellers and reproduced later by the Nationalists, we see that there is a fundamental break in the sense that the rulers adopted the green dress of a stitched variety that was signifier of an Islamic way of dressing as stitched clothes were not a part of the Hindu ritual repertoire. It is this hybridity rather than an insularity that makes Vijayanagara an area of cultural synthesis rather than a cultural isolate. Therefore, the typing of Vijayanagara as the Hindu empire is a historiographic exercise which has become a historical fact established through successive reproductions of generalisations that trace their origin to the travel writings.

One of the representative frameworks of the travel writers is the distinction between the Orient and then the Occident, and in this binary, the term of periodisation is caused further problems. With the decline of the Vijayanagara empire, the period of modernity starts with the British intervention and therefore the earlier period is understood to be a part of progression at lower order. Periodisation rests on the European travel narratives where Vijayanagara is frozen in time, and this temporality was suspended in an exotic setting. The devices of representation accompanying this exercise focus

on the idea of the bazaar or the market as a place of riches that were part of the imagination of the period of the 'age of discoveries'. One of the central problems of Orientalism is the stereotype representation of different peoples of the East as lazy, ostentatious and given to superstitions. How then did they achieve a level of prosperity? The prosperity in question was achieved through the marshalling of resources by a despot in the capital city would command the resources of all the regions and these were the marts beginning with diamonds, strange objects and jugglers and different entertainers. The difference is one of the devices of representation by which an idea of otherness is established, and this difference is played regarding the subjects of the despot in contrast to the people of Europe set on a higher pedestal. While the city of Vijayanagara and its subjects enjoyed material prosperity they were under the rule of the despotic monarch is a continued representation. This was sanctioned again by the strange religious rituals, and an idea of all this was said in the theatre of the urban centre of Vijayanagara.

The vast agrarian hinterlands, the source for all prosperity of the Vijayanagara empire that was predominantly agrarian is completely erased, and in its place, an urban setting is shown as the important exemplar of this region. Such generalisations give a distorted and limited idea of the state of Vijayanagara. In addition to the geographical and historical corrections needed to set right these errors, one may also point the temporal phase. Vijayanagara is on the way out as it is not a participant in the voyage of discoveries and therefore is not during the late mediaeval period. George Michel has taken serious objection to the use of this terminology of late mediaeval is that the late implies that something is already over and in the case of Vijayanagara we find that the last days of the glory are being understood as a projection of this representation. Historians have recently been employing a correction to this approach by using the term early modern instead of late mediaeval to show the vibrant face of Vijayanagara. How then would one explain the presence of Christian communities in Goa and the coastal regions of the Vijayanagara if they were not a signifier of the early modern period? How are we to explain the adoption of not only Islamic but also European ideas in the military, an

organisation of statecraft et cetera as seen in the changes in material culture particularly in weaponry and the representation of Portuguese as horse traders. It is the multi-ethnic and multicultural setting of Vijayanagara that serves as a meeting point in the Deccan plateau where the difference was seen not as the other but as strands of a larger tapestry. In the modern period, the idea of the majority and minority communities based on such frames of reference do not do justice as India is understood as a series of extended minorities rather than a dichotomy of majority and minority. This idea of difference and accommodation of difference in religious and ethnic diversity is well understood and the problems they do different frames of reference adopted by the indigenous sources and the European travel narratives.

One may also dwell on the nature of the urban centre apart from the exotic characteristics bestowed on the same by relegating the sacral aspects of kinship that was situated in a sacred space that could also be read as an economic agent since pilgrimage constituted one of the important processes of urbanisation in sacred geography. Therefore, religion, economics and the societal process cannot be seen as separate from each other but only as reinforcing each other, and it is this perspective on Vijayanagara that has taken from a diverse variety of sources that have contributed to the newness of interpretation which is to the test of time. One may conclude by putting Clifford Geertz that a way of seeing is a way of not seeing and travel writing is brought to our notice many aspects the indigenous sources are taken for granted while at the same time they cannot be read alone. Therefore, to get a clear picture of Vijayanagara and reconstruct spread of Vijayanagara one has to use travel writings along with indigenous sources and read them through the frames of Orientalism and the larger political process and patronage that shaped the sources.